

A NOTE ON THE ANTIQUITY OF THE LINGA WORSHIP IN INDIA

By

Priyatosh Banerjee

One of the important aspects of the Śiva-cult is the worship of the *Linga* or phallus. Phallicism is one of the ancient forms of worship both in India and elsewhere. The association of the phallus worship with the cult of Śiva who is often regarded as a god of generation (inspite of the destructive function assigned to him in Hindu trinity) has played an important role in the religious-life of the Neo-Brahmanic people. It is a matter of common knowledge that though Śiva was imaged and worshipped in various forms, his worship in phallic form commands the widest popularity. The phallus worship in India is pre-Aryan in origin, though it was foreign to the Vedic people.

The Mohenjodaro male-god depicted in *yugic* posture with animals around him has been represented with an *ūrdhva meḍhra*. Moreover, among the minor antiquities discovered at Mohenjodaro and Harappa there are a large number of anconic stones which can be taken for realistic representations of phalli.¹ It is thus evident that the phallus-worship goes back to the Mohenjodaro days. Further evidence on the existence of this form of worship is afforded by the discovery of two stones, one a phallus and the other a *joṇi* at the chalcolithic sites of Mughalghundai and Perianoghundai² respectively.

The *Rigveda* seems to refer to the practice of the phallus-worship as prevailing among the non-Aryan people who are described there as *Śśinadevas*. In the *Rigveda*, VII, 21.5 Indra is implored to repel the hostile beings, and not to allow the *Śśinadevas* (i.e. whose god is *śiśna*) to approach the sacred

1. Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilisation*, Vol. I, p. 59f., pl. XIV, Nos. 2 and 4; Vate, *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. I, pp. 369-71.

2. Marshall—Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 59, pl. XIII, Nos. 1, 7 and 9

ceremony. In the same text X. 99.3 Indra is praised as having slain the *Śiśnadevas* and conquered by his craft the riches of their city with hundred gates. This shows that the *Śiśnadevas* were a class of people who were non-Aryans, and considered hostile by the Aryan people. The word *Śiśnadevas* has been variously interpreted. In the opinion of certain European and Indian scholars *Śiśnadevas* mean those whose god is *śiśna* (or phallus).¹ Sāyaṇa on the authority of Yāska, however, interprets *Śiśnadevas* as those who sport with *śiśna* (membrum virile) i.e. unchaste men, Durgāchārya, the commentator of the *Nirukta* explains the word more or less in the same way as Yāska. According to him those people are *Śiśnadevas* who 'are always dallying' carnally with the prostitutes forsaking Vedic observances (*śiśnena nitya meva prakīrṇābhiḥ stribhiḥ sākam krīḍan'ah āsate śrautāni karmānjutsijya*). In the *Rigveda* VII 21.5 the *Śiśnadevas* are mentioned along with the Yātava. Further, while commenting upon the word *śiśna* in the *Rigveda*, X. 27.19 Sāyaṇa finds an allusion to the Rākshashas (*rākshasādivṛiṇḍāni*). It is quite possible that *śiśna* of the passage (R. V. X. 27.19) and the *Śiśnadevas* of the passage (X.99.3) denote the same people.² Thus it appears that the *Śiśnadevas* were phallus-worshippers and they were beyond the pale of the Vedic society. The discoveries at Mohenjodaro combined with the Vedic references stated above prove beyond doubt that the phallus-worship was a non-Aryan rite. This is supported also by the fact that several places considered sacred as the peculiar residences of *Jyotiḥ Liṅgas* are generally in the south and north-east at a great distance from the original settlements of the orthodox Brahmanical faith. In Marhatta countries where Saivites generally prevail, the *Brāhmaṇas* do not officiate in the *Liṅga*-temples. There is a caste separate for that known as Guravā, a distinct Order of men being originally of Śūdra stock.

With the growth of Neo-Brahmanism as found in the epics and *Purāṇas*, however, the phallic rite came to be closely asso-

1. Macdonell and Keith—*Vedic Index*.

2. J. N. Banerjā, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I. pp. 69ff.

ciated with the Aryan faith as an essential element of Saivism. In the *Anusāsana parva* we are told that Krishna proceeded to the Himalayas to propitiate Śiva to have a son for Jāmbavatī through Śiva's grace. On his way Krishna met Upamanyu, an ardent devotee of Śiva who acquainted him with the glories and attributes of the god (i.e. Śiva). To test his devotion, Mahadeva appeared before Upamanyu in the guise of Indra and offered to grant him a boon of his choice. The devoted Upamanyu refused to accept favour from any god other than Mahādeva and dwelt at length on the various attributes of Śiva and the reasons as to why he was regarded as the Supreme creator. The following lines from Upamanyu's passionate speech are very significant in this connection: "Is Īśa (Mahādeva) the cause of causes from any other reasons? We have not heard that the *Linga* of any other person is worshipped by the gods. He whose *Linga* Brahma, Vishnu, and Thou (Indra) with the deities continually worship is therefore the most eminent. Since children bear neither the mark of the lotus (Brahma's), nor of the discus (Vishnu's), nor of the thunderbolt (Indra's) but are marked with the male and female organs, therefore offspring are derived from Mahādeva. All women produced from the nature of Devī as their cause are marked with the female organ, and all males are marked with the *Linga* of Hara¹". From this passage it is clear that the *Linga*-worship was widely prevalent in the Aryan society in the epic times.

There are numerous references to the *Linga* worship in Puranic literature. In the *Lingapurāna* an account is given of the fiery *Linga* of Mahadeva which sprang up before Brahmā and Vishnu, while they were fighting for supremacy. Both of them (i.e. Brahmā and Vishnu) were put to shame as after travelling upwards and downwards for a thousand years in

1. Muir *O S T*, Vol. 4, p. 192-93. The *Anusāsana parva* contains more references to the *Linga* worship. There is a reference to the *Linga* worship in the *Uttarakanda* of the *Ramayana*. It is stated there that wherever Ravana went, he carried a golden *Linga* which he worshipped with incense and flowers of ambrosial odour, Muir, *O S T*, Vol. 4, p. 406.

each direction neither could approach its termination. Upon the *Liṅga* was visible the sacred monosyllable 'OM' by which Brahmā and Viṣṇu became enlightened, and they acknowledged the superior might and glory of Śiva.¹ Further in the same text "*Pradhāna* (nature) is called the *Liṅga* and Parameśvara is called Liṅgin.....the pedestal of the *Liṅga* is Mahādevī and the *Liṅga* is the visible Maheśvara". The epic-puranic literature thus reveals that the phallus-worship came to be clothed with a mystic and philosophical meaning and recognised as inseparable part of the Śaivic cult in the Neo-Brāhmanic society.

According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar the *Liṅga*-worship did not come into use among the higher class of people at the time of Patañjali and it was unknown even in the time of Viṃśakadphises. In support of this he says that Patañjali in his commentary on Pāṇinian *sūtra* V. 3.99 refers to the image of Śiva and not his *Liṅga* as an object of adoration. On the coins of Viṃśakadphises who was a devout worshipper of Śiva there is the anthropomorphic representation of Śiva either with the trident or the bull, but the phallus is conspicuous by its absence³.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar also holds more or less a similar view. In his lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics he assigns the Gudimallam-*Liṅga* to the early fourth century A.D. and observes that it was in the beginning of the Gupta period that the *Liṅga*-worship was foisted on the Śiva-cult⁴.

The above-mentioned theories are now untenable in the light of the subsequent researches on the point. Even if it is difficult to adduce any dated literary evidence of the existence of the *Liṅga*-worship in Brahmanical society in period prior to the Christian era, there is abundance of archaeological material

1. *Liṅgapurāṇa*, Chapters XVII and XVIII.

2. Gopinath Rao, *The Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, part I, p. 59.

3. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 115.

4. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics* pp. 19-20.

to prove that the *Linga*-worship as associated with Śiva-cult was widely prevalent in the orthodox society from C 3rd century B C

One of the earliest sculptured representations of *Linga* is Gudimallam-*Linga* in South India. It is 5 ft in height and bears upon its front portion a figure of Śiva with two arms. Śiva stands astride on the shoulders of an *Apsamāra Puruṣa*. "This *Linga* is composed of two parts, nut and the shaft of the membrum virile each of them shaped exactly like the original model in a state of erection¹"

The Gudimallam-*Linga* has been assigned to the 2nd century B C by Gopinath Rao². Coomaraswamy also has supported this view³, Dr D R Bhandarkar does not seem to be justified in assigning this sculpture to the Gupta period.

The Gudimallam-*Linga* shows not only that the *Linga*-worship was associated with Neo-Brahmanic Śiva-cult as early as the 2nd century B C, but also that Saivism was a well recognised cult in centuries earlier than the Christian era. It may be stated in passing that the Śātavāhanas were among the earliest benefactors of Śiva-worship in South India. The Talagunda inscription of the time of Kadamba Śāntivarman refers to an ancient temple of Śiva being worshipped by Śatakarni, who was probably Śrī-Śatakarni⁴ (of the 1st century B C) belonging to the Śātavāhana dynasty. That Saivism was a popular cult in South India during this period is also proved by the occurrence of such names as Bhūtapāla, Mahādevanaka, Śivadatta, Śivapālita⁵ etc in South Indian inscriptions of the Śātavāhana rulers and their contemporaries.

Reverting to the subject of the *Linga*-worship we may refer now to another representation of *Linga*. This *Linga* was found in Bhita. R. D. Banerji describes it as follows. "The top of

¹ Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol II, part I, p 68

² Ibid

³ Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p 39

⁴ Gopinath Rao, *Op cit*, Vol II, part I, p 68

⁵ *Ep Ind*, Vol VIII, p 31f

⁶ Dr D R Bhandarkar, *Indian Antiquary*, June, 1919 p 78.

the *Linga* is shaped as the bust of the male holding a vase in the left hand, while the right hand is raised in *abhaya-mudrā* posture. Below the bust where the waist of the figure should have been are four human heads, one at each corner.....The phallus is marked by the deeply drawn lines¹."

Mr. Banerji took the four faces on the corners as four female busts but on a close examination they appear, as Gopinath Rao has pointed out, to be the representation of four male figures. In his opinion the sculpture in question can be regarded as one of the Mukhaliṅga having five faces "corroborating to the Īśāṇa, Tatpuruṣa, Aghora and Vāmadeva aspects of Śiva²."

This sculpture contains an inscription in Brāhmī script of the 1st century B.C. R.D. Banerji reads and translates it as follows:—Khajahuti-putanam L (iṁ) go patiṭhapiṭo Vāseṭhi-putenā Nāgasirinā piyatā [m]d(c)vatā. "The *Linga* of the sons of Khajuhati, was dedicated by Nāgasiri (Nāgaśri), the son of Vāseṭhi (Vāsishṭhi). May the deity be pleased³."

A Śiva-linga⁴ with the figure of Śiva has been found also at Mathurā. This figure is analogous to that of the Gudimallam-*Linga*, the difference being that the present Śiva-figure is four-armed, whereas Gudimallam-Siva has only two arms. Further, there is at the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Muttra, a Śiva-linga installed on a pedestal with two noble men worshipping it with garlands and flowers⁵. Stylistically, these sculptures can be assigned to the Kushān period. Mathurā has yielded also several Ardhanārīśvara figures (of the Kushān period) representing Śiva in the Ūrdhvareta aspect⁶:

1. R. D. Banerji *A. S. I.*, A. R. 1909-10, p. 147-48.

2. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, pt. I, p. 64.

3. Dr. Bhandarkar differs from R. D. Banerji with regard to the reading as well as interpretation of the inscription, *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 20-21.

4. V. S. Agarwala, *J. I. S. O. A.*, Vol. IV, pl. XXII, fig. I.

5. V. S. Agarwala, *Hand-Book to the Sculptures of the Curzon Museum of Archaeology*, Muttra, p. 42, *J. I. S. O. A.*, Vol. IV, pl. XXIII, fig. 1.

6. V. S. Agarwala, *J. I. S. O. A.*, Vol. V, p. 127.

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[Part 1

ŚAIVISM AND THE INDUS CIVILISATION

By T. M. P. MAHADEVAN

'AMONG the many revelations that Mohenjo-dāro and Harappā have had in store for us,' says Sir John Marshall, 'none perhaps is more remarkable than this discovery that Śaivism has a history going back to the Chalcolithic Age or perhaps even further still, and that it thus takes its place as the most ancient living faith in the world.'¹ The age fixed for the Indus Civilisation is the fourth and third millenia B.C., and Marshall is certain that in the highly developed culture of the Indus peoples no vestige of Indo-Āryan influence is to be found.² Among the finds on which Marshall bases his theory that Śaivism or what preceded it must have been prevalent in the Indus valley alongside the cult of the Mother Goddess the important ones are a male figure in meditative pose on a roughly carved seal and certain objects of cult-worship, *viz.*, those resembling the phallus, identified with the *liṅga*, and ring-stones, representing the *yoni* or vulva.

The figure on the seal which is regarded by Marshall as a prototype of the historic Śiva, is that of a three-faced God, 'seated on a low Indian throne in a typical attitude

¹ See *Moh. Ind.*, I. vii.

² *Ibid.*, v.

of Yoga, with legs bent double beneath him, heel to heel, and toes turned downwards. His arms are outstretched, his hands with thumbs to front, resting on his knees The lower limbs are bare and the phallus (*īrdhrame-dhra*) seemingly exposed, but it is possible that what appears to be the phallus is in reality the end of the waistband. Crowning his head is a pair of horns meeting in a tall head-dress. To either side of the God are four animals, an elephant and tiger on his proper right, a rhinoceros and buffalo on his left. Beneath the throne are two deer standing with heads regardant and horns turned to the centre.’³

Sir John Marshall sees in this figure certain distinctive features which came to be attributed to Śiva in historic times. (1) The first trait to be noted is that the god is three-faced (*trimukha*). We know that Śiva was portrayed in later times with one, three, four, or five faces. Though only three faces are visible in the figure on the seal, it may well be that the god represented there is four-faced, with the fourth face to be understood at the back. The significance of ascribing four faces to the god is that he looks in all directions over the four quarters of the universe. (2) The second feature of this pre-Āryan god that links him with the historic Śiva, says Marshall, is his peculiar Yogī-like posture, with feet drawn up beneath him, toes turned down, and hands extended above the knees. Śiva is pre-eminently the prince of Yogīs—the typical ascetic and self-mortifier, whence his names *Mahātapaḥ*, *Mahāyogī*. (3) Thirdly, the four animals grouped about the god probably indicate his lordship over the beasts. One of the appellations of Rudra in the *R̥g-Veda* and of Śiva in historic times in *Pāśupati*, ‘lord of cattle.’ (4) ‘Still another attribute that helps to con-

³ *Ibid.*, 52.

nect this unknown God with Śiva, though it does not amount to actual evidence of identity, is the pair of horns crowning his head' The horns in such cases have a special significance 'They were regarded as the emblems of the deity into which category sometimes kings and priests were included In later days the horns disappeared from the images of gods But a survival thereof is to be found in the *triśūla* or trident, which is a special adjunct of Śiva (5) Lastly, the historic Śiva may be connected to the figure on the Mohenjo dāro seal through the deer beneath the seat of the god 'Two deer in a like position are portrayed on many mediaeval images of Śiva, especially when he appears in the form of *Dakṣināmūrti* or *Yogadakṣināmūrti*, and a deer (*mṛga*) held in one of his hands is a frequent attribute of the god in other manifestations' On these grounds, then, Sir John Marshall concludes that the god on the seal is the prototype, in his most essential aspects, of the historic Śiva

That the grounds on which Marshall has built his theory are not unshakable, he is himself conscious Regarding two of his observations the learned archaeologist has himself expressed doubt What appears to be the seemingly exposed phallus may well be in reality the end of the waistband, he thinks And he also agrees that the pairs of horns on the head does not amount to actual evidence of the identification of the god with Śiva But he fails to see that similar doubts shadow the other points of similarity suggested by him Brushing aside the hypothesis that the fourth face is at the back, could we identify the figure on the seal with Śiva because it has three faces? A categorical answer in the affirmative is not justified, as the three-faced figure may also mean, as Marshall himself does not fail to grant, 'a syncretic form of three deities rolled into one,' especially as 'the conception of the triad

or trinity is a very old one in India' and 'it was equally old in Mesopotamia.' The Yogic posture, again, cannot be a conclusive evidence for identifying the god with Śiva, because even among the Mohenjo-dāro finds we have in the same posture a statue of a male figure and a deity in a small faience sealing, for whose identification with Śiva we have no sound reasons. As regards the four animals, Marshall himself offers an alternative explanation in a footnote, where he says that 'it may be that the four quarters are represented by the four animals to the right and left of the deity, just as on the capital of Aśoka column at Sārnātha they are represented by the elephant, lion, bull and horse.'⁴ We are now left with the two deer beneath the throne; and it will not be difficult to see that they by themselves do not warrant the identification of the god on the seal with Śiva. All that we would like to say is that the figure on the 'roughly carved seal' provides very slender evidence for the theory which Sir John Marshall evolves out of it. The reasons such as he has been able to find do not provide enough ground for concluding that the god on the Mohenjo-dāro seal is the pre-Āryan Śiva.

Turning to the phallic emblems and the baetyllic stones, Sir John Marshall observes that these must have formed objects of worship in the Indus valley. Among the Mohenjo-dāro and Harappā finds there are three classes of aniconic objects that merit attention in this connection. The first class comprises those which are unquestionably phallic, more or less realistically modelled, and also others which are more conventionized in shape whose phallic character, therefore, is not so obvious. Those other objects vary in size from half an inch to a foot or thereabouts in height. And Marshall's conjecture is

⁴ *Ibid.*, 53.

that they were all 'sacred objects of some sort, the larger ones serving as aniconic agalmata for cult purposes, the smaller as amulets to be carried on the person, just as miniature *lingas* are commonly carried by Śaivites of to-day.' The stones of the second class are more varied in size than those of the first; and in shape they are like many of the *lingas* seen in Śiva temples to-day. But since it is unlikely that the phallic emblem would have been conventionalised in two different forms in the Indus Valley, Marshall is led to think that probably these pertained to the bactylic cults which along with those of the Mother Goddesses would seem to have been prevalent then in the countries of the Near and Middle east. The third class of the stone objects comprises ring-stones found in large numbers both at Mohenjo-dāro and Harappā. Their size varies from half an inch to nearly four feet in diameter. Rejecting the alternative explanations that the ring stones might have been threaded on poles to form columns or that they might have been used as stone-money similar to the stone wheel-money in use on the islands of Uap in the Carolines, Marshall suggests that these ring-stones might have had the same cultural, fetish or magical significance that the ring-stones of the Mauryan period had and whose connection with the female principle could hardly be mistaken. Concluding his observations on the topic, the learned archaeologist says, 'whether these three types (of stones) represent three distinct cults is uncertain; but it is not unnatural to suppose that *linga* and *yonī* worship may have been associated then, as they were later under the aegis of Śaivism.'⁵

The assumption that lends countenance to the plausibility of Marshall's theory is that the worship of *linga* that forms an integral part of historic Śaivism is phallic

⁵ *Ibid.*, 58-63.

in character. Assuming that the *Śiva-līṅga* is a representation of the phallus, it is easy to connect it with the phallic cult objects found in the Indus Valley and elsewhere. But has the assumption a high degree of probability? Was the *līṅga-worship* derived from the phallic cults? It is no doubt true that phallic cult objects have been unearthed here and there by the spade of the archaeologists. Some of these have been found on the pre-historic sites of the Indus Valley. But what ground is there to connect the *līṅga* with these objects? In the *Ānūsāsana-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* we meet for the first time with the phallic interpretation of the *Śiva-līṅga*. The passages in which the account occurs are very late; and it is possible that the theory was evolved out of a confusion between the *līṅga-worship* and the cult of the phallus. Attempts have been made to read a reference to phallic worship in the word *śiśnadevāḥ* occurring in the *Ṛgveda*. This is what Macdonell says: 'A symbol must have been used, as at a later period, in the phallic worship which was known by the occurrence in two passages of the word "*Śiśna Devāḥ*." "Those who have a phallus for their deity." Such worship was, however, repugnant to the religious ideas of the *Ṛgveda*; for Indra is besought not to let the *Śiśna Devāḥ* approach the sacrifice,⁶ and he is said to have slain the *Śiśna Devāḥ*, when he won the treasure of the hundred-gated fort.⁷ In the post-Vedic period, the phallus or *līṅga* became symbolical of Śiva's generative power and its worship is widely diffused even at the present day.⁸ As against the view of Macdonell and others it has been urged that the word *śiśnadevāḥ* admits of other

⁶ vii. 21. 5.

⁷ x. 99. 3.

⁸ Macdonell, A. A., *Vedic Mythology*, 155. Dr. A. P. Karmarkar takes the expression to mean 'those (Gods) possessed of a *Śiśna* (*Śiśnayuktāḥ devāḥ*)'. See B. C. Law Volume Part I, 459, 1945.

interpretations Sāyanā, for instance, takes the word to mean 'those who sport with the *śiśna* (membrum virile), i.e., unchaste men' and he quotes Yāska as his authority. Durgācārya, the commentator on the *Nirukta*, gives the same explanation as Sāyana. Roth thinks that the word is a sarcastic appellation for priapic or lustful demons⁹. It is by no means certain, therefore, that *śiśnadevāḥ* means worshippers of the phallus. Even if it did, it would only show that there were such worshippers in the age of the *Rigveda*, and would not prove either that they were identical with *linga worshippers* or that the *linga* is a representation of the phallus.

It is worthy of note that there are explanations available of the *linga* which do not savour of the phallic cults. The word '*linga*' means 'mark' or 'sign'. In the present context it signifies the symbol of God. Just as the '*Omkāra*' is the sound symbol representing Brahman, the *linga* is the form symbol signifying the Most High. There are other *pratīkas* or images of God. But the excellence of the *linga* consists in its suggestion of the formlessness and infinitude of the Supreme. Properly speaking, there is no image of God who is a-*linga* (without distinguishing marks)¹⁰. But man requires for the purpose of concentration or meditation some mark which will stand for the Deity. And of all the visible representations, the *linga* is the least objectionable, because it serves to convey the idea of a God who transcends all distinctions. The *Linga purāṇa* abounds in passages which endorse the view that the *linga* is but a symbol of the really uncharacterisable God. For example, one of the verses reads thus

'alingo linga mulam tu avyaktam lingam ucya te
alingah Śiva ity ukto lingam Śaivism iti smṛtam'

⁹ OST, IV 409

¹⁰ See *Kāthopanīśad*, vi 8

‘The root of *liṅga* is what is without any mark ; the unmanifest is called *liṅga*.. What is without any mark is said to be Śiva ; the *liṅga*, it is thought, is what relates to Śiva.’¹¹ There is also the story in the Purāṇa of how Śiva became a pillar of light whose top and bottom could not be reached by Brahmā and Viṣṇu. The *liṅga* may be regarded as a representation of this column of light. As alternative explanations are thus available, it would not be right to state dogmatically that the *liṅga* was evolved out of the primitive phallism. ‘Of all the representations of the deity which India has imagined’ observes Barth, ‘these (*liṅgas*) are perhaps the least offensive to look at.’¹² In fact, in the mind of no genuine devotee of Śiva is the idea of the membrum virile generated when he worships the Śiva-*liṅga*.

In the absence of any conclusive evidence to show that the *liṅga* is a derivative of the phallus, the conjectures of Sir John Marshall lose their point. Of the three classes of cult objects discovered in the Indus Valley, the *liṅga* is to be connected, if at all, with the second group of stones which, even according to Marshall, are not likely to be the representations of the phallus. The archaeologist admits that in mediaeval and modern India it is only very rarely that *liṅgas* take at all a naturalistic, i.e. the phallic form. ‘Ninety-nine percent of them,’ he says, ‘are so conventionalised that most people would find a difficulty in recognising their phallic character.’¹³ We would only add that there is no need to assume their phallic character.

In the preface to his monumental work, Sir John Marshall has made this wise observation, ‘Our task is but just beginning. Fresh materials are coming to light almost daily, and our horizon, therefore, is insensibly changing.

¹¹ *Liṅga-purāṇa*, iii. 1.

¹² Barth, *R.I.*, 262.

¹³ *Moh. Ind.*, I. 60.

In such conditions any approach to finality is out of the question.¹⁴ The position is not much different now from what it was when Marshall wrote these words. For aught we know, Śiva-worship may have prevailed in the Indus Valley alongside the cult of the Mother Goddess. But it must be said that the evidence provided by the figure on the seal is extremely inadequate. And the aniconic cult objects so far discovered do not establish the connection of the *linga* with the phallic cults.¹⁵

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, ix.

¹⁵ A study of the relevant Tamil literature leads to the same conclusion. There is no mention of *linga* and *pīṭha* (the circular base) in the *Śivajñānabodha*, the basic text of Śaivasiddhānta literature. The reference to *linga* as being symbolic of sex in the *Śivajñānasiddhiyār* (supakkam, II. 69) is likely to be a concession to the popular thought identifying *linga* with the sex symbol. Even in the *Siddhiyār* there is another line of thought which defines Śakti as being of the form of *Jñāna* (wisdom) (I. 62), and suggests that to the wise it will be evident that Śiva is a bachelor and Śakti a virgin (II. 77). Their activities are in the nature of a play or drama for the benefit of humanity. Śiva's real form is different from all the characteristics popularly attributed to him. He pervades everything without identifying himself with anything (II. 70). In Appar's *Tevāram*, Śiva is referred to as *naḍutari* (peg to which cows are tethered) who can be intuited only in one's own heart. It may be suggested that the *linga* is but a peg-like mark or symbol representing Godhead,

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THE ŚIVA-DHARMA

By R C HAZRA

This is a short work still preserved in manuscripts¹ It consists of twelve chapters only and deals exclusively with the religious rites and duties of Śiva-worshippers Like

¹ As this work has not yet been published, our analysis of its contents is based mainly on the palm leaf manuscript No G3852 preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta For a description of this manuscript, which is written in Newari script 'of the twelfth century' A D and consists of six different works on Śaivism (viz, *Śiva dharma*, *Śiva dharmottara*, *Śiva dharma samgraha*, *Uma mahesvara samvada*, *Śivopaniṣad*, and *Uttarottara tantra*), see Haraprasad Shastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the Care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol V, No 4085, pp 723 744

For other manuscripts of this work see

(i) Haraprasad Shastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the Care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol V, pp 714-715, No 4082 (Ms No G9967 incomplete, containing the sixth chapter only, written on Nepalese paper in Bengali characters, and dated Śaka 1563), and pp 718 723, No 4084 (Ms No G4077 written on palm leaf in Newari script, and containing nine different works on Śaiva Dharma, of which the first six are the same as those in Ms No G3852 mentioned above, the seventh is the *Vṛṣa sara samgraha*, and the eighth and the ninth are both named *Lalita vistara*)

In Ms No G4077 the eighth work, styled *Lalita vistara*, has a post colophon statement, according to which one 'Kula putra Ratna simha' copied it in 'संवत् १५५१' (i e, Newari year 156=1036 A D) during the victorious reign (vijaya rajye) of 'Parama bhattaraka mahārajadhīraja parameśvara śrī Lakṣmīkamadeva'

the *Viṣṇu-dharma* it calls itself a 'Śāstra' or 'Dharma-śāstra'² and never a 'Purāṇa', or 'Upapurāṇa', and it has been mentioned as such by the *Bhaviṣya*³ and the *Saura-purāṇa*,⁴ both of which clearly distinguish it from the Purāṇic works. Yet its name has been included in all the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas except those contained in *Skanda-purāṇa* V. iii

(ii) *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss. in the Adyar Library*, Part I, p. 159, Ms. No. 46 (styled 'Śiva-dharm-opapurāṇa' and written in Grantha script).

(iii) Haraprasad Shastri, *Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, pp. 128-129, No. 1376 (incomplete, containing the Śānti-adhyāya only; written in Newari script; dated Newari Era 522). See also p. 55.

(iv) R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, VI, pp. 272-274, No. 2208 (containing the Śiva-dharma and the Śiva-dharmottara; written in Bengali characters).

(v) A. C. Burnell, *Classified Index to the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace at Tanjore*, p. 138 (written in Grantha characters).

² In most of the chapter-colophons the name 'Śiva-dharma-śāstra' occurs. See also the line :

'uktam ca dvādaśādhyāyam dharma-śāstram śivātmakam' occurring in Chap. 12 (fol. 39a).

³ The relevant verse of the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* is as follows :

aṣṭādaśa purāṇāni rāmasya caritam tathā |
viṣṇudharmādi-śāstrāṇi śivadharmāś ca bhārata. ||

(*Bhaviṣya-p.*, Venkateśvara Press ed., i. 4. 87b-88a).

This verse has been quoted in Aparārka's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, p. 15, Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* (Bibl. Ind. ed.) II. i. pp. 19-20, Caṇḍeśvara Thakkura's *Kṛtya-ratnākara* (Bibl. Ind. ed.), p. 30, Narasiṃha Vājaḍeyin's *Nityācāra-pradīpa* (Bibl. Ind. ed.), p. 22, Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva* (Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara's ed.) I, p. 71, and so on.

The printed edition of the *Bhaviṣya-p.* reads 'viṣṇu-dharmādayo dharmāḥ' for 'viṣṇudharmādi-śāstrāṇi'.

⁴ The relevant verses of the '*Saura-purāṇa*', as quoted in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, I, pp. 539-540, are the following :

anyāny upa-purāṇāni sa-hiranyāni parvaṇi |
likhitvā yaḥ prayacchet tu sa vidyā-pārāgo bhavet ||
śiva-dharmādi-śāstrāṇi yaḥ prayacchati puṇyadbhiḥ |
so 'nanta-phalam āpnoti śiva-dharma-prakīśānāt ||

These two verses do not occur in the printed editions of the *Saura-p.*

(Revā-khaṇḍa): 1. 46-52, *Devī-bhāgavata* i. 3. 13-16, *Vindhyamāhātmya*, Chapter 4, and *Ekāmra-purāṇa*, Chap. 1. On the other hand, Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura of Mithilā takes it to be a 'Smṛti' work,⁵ the *Revā-māhātmya* calls it a part of the *Vāyupurāṇa* and thus looks upon it as a Purāṇic work,⁶ the *Vāyaviya-saṃhitā* (ii. 24. 170) of the *Śiva-purāṇa* regards it both as a 'Śāstra' and as a 'Purāṇa',⁷ and Devaṇa-bhaṭṭa mentions it as a 'Śāstra' on one occasion and as a 'Purāṇa' on another⁸. From these it is evident that this work began to be recognised as an Upapurāṇa much earlier than 1000 A. D., but its original character was not lost sight of at least by a section of people.

That originally the *Śivā-dharma* was not meant for passing as a Purāṇic work, is also shown by its contents, which are given below.

Chap. 1—Salutation to Śaṃbhu in a verse (which is the same as the first introductory verse of Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harṣa-carita*).

While Nandikeśvara was sitting at ease on the Mount Meru in the midst of a number of sages, Sanatkumāra, son of Brahmā, rose up from among them and requested Nandikeśvara to speak on that excellent Dharma (paramaṃ dharmaṃ), called 'Śivā-dharma', which is eternal, easy to perform, and productive of all the ends of life, because, Sanat-

⁵ See Caṇḍeśvara's *Kṛtya-ratnākara*, p. 30.

⁶ Theodor Aufrecht, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Sanscritorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, p. 65—

caturthaṃ śiva-dharmākhyam purāṇe vāyu-saṃjñite

(which is one of the lines of the *Revā-māhātmya* on the list of eighteen Upapurāṇas).

⁷ *Śiva-p.*, V (*Vāyaviya-saṃhitā*). ii. 24. 170—

śāstram ca śiva-dharmākhyam dharmākhyam ca tad-uttaram |

śaivākhyam śiva-dharmākhyam purāṇam śruti-saṃmatam ||

⁸ See *Smṛti-candrikā* (Mysore ed.) II, pp. 539 (*śivārcana-phalam tu śivādharma-śāstre darśitam*, etc.) and 553 (*phalam āha purāṇe nandikeśvara*).

kumāra said, the Agniṣṭoma and other Vedic sacrifices, being highly elaborate, expensive and tiresome but of doubtful efficacy, could not be undertaken by people of little resources.⁹ Consequently, Nandikeśvara praised 'Śiva-dharma' (religious duty to Śiva), which, he said, was originally spoken out by Śiva to Pārvatī, Ṣaṇmukha (the six-faced god Kārttikeya), Nandikeśvara and other gods for the deliverance of those who were steeped in nescience. Nandikeśvara then spoke on the following topics :

Praise of Śiva-worship, by which one may attain heaven (svarga) as well as final emancipation (apavarga). Mention and praise of eight types ('aṣṭāṅgi', 'aṣṭa-vidhā') of Bhakti manifested in loving the devotees of Śiva, encouraging Śiva-worship, personally worshipping the deity, listening to discourses on Śiva, constantly remembering him, and so on.

Praise of devotees of Śiva and of honouring them with gifts, etc. Praise of devotion, worship, donation, Homa, knowledge, austerities, etc. meant for the pleasure of Śiva. Devotional service to Śiva always and by all means.

Chap. 2—Going to describe the means of attaining immortality Sanatkumāra speaks on the merits of establishing a Liṅga of Śiva, constructing a temple for it, cleansing the temple and besmearing it with cow-dung, lustrating the Liṅga, bathing it with water, honey, sugarcane-juice, etc., offering of 'argha' to it, making donations of gold, gems, cows, horses, elephants, servants, cultivable land, village, town, etc., and making all kinds of devotional service to Śiva.

Chap. 3—Sanatkumāra's narration of the following story of the origin of Liṅga :

⁹ Śiva-dharma, Chap. 1 (fol. 1b) :

*agniṣṭomādayo yajñā bahu-vitta-kriyānvitāḥ |
nātyanta-phala-bhūyiṣṭhā bahv-āyāsa-samanvitāḥ ||
na śakyante yataḥ kartum alpa-vittair dvijātibhiḥ |
sukhopāyam ato brūhi sarva-kām-ārtha-sādhakam ||
hitāya sarva-martyānāṃ śiva-dharmam sanātanam ||*

When everything was under the waters of the ocean, there was a quarrel between Brahmā and Viṣṇu, both of whom claimed agency and lordship of the universe. In order to settle their dispute there appeared between them a great Linga of light (jyotir-liṅga), the ends of which neither Brahmā nor Viṣṇu could discover. As they eulogised this huge Linga, they found in it another small spiritual Linga, only a 'prādeśa' (i. e., the span between the thumb and the forefinger) in length, which was Śiva himself (śivātmaka)¹⁰ Śiva (here called Mahādeva) was pleased to grant boons to Brahmā and Viṣṇu and disappeared after declaring himself to be the cause of the universe. Thence forward Brahmā, Viṣṇu and others worshipped the Linga, which comprises all gods, Brahmā remaining at its right side, Viṣṇu at its left, Gāyatrī in its heart, and the Vedas, together with the Angas, on its head.

Results of disregarding a Linga. Construction of Lingas with different materials (viz., stone, gems, gold, silver, brass, sapphire, bell-metal, earth, crystal, copper, etc.) and the effects derived by gods, Nāgas, Asuras and others by worshipping them, viz., Brahmā became the creator by worshipping a Linga of stone, Indra's position was due to his worship of a Linga of gems, Dhanada became the god of wealth by worshipping a golden Linga, the Viśvedevas became so by worshipping a Linga of silver, Vāyu worshipped a Linga of brass to attain his position, Viṣṇu's status was due to his worship of a Linga of sapphire, Buddha attained his supreme knowledge and the state of peace by worshipping a Linga of gold¹¹, Ārṇata became a venerable Yogin by worshipping a Linga of topazes¹², and so on.

¹⁰ Śiva dharma, Chap. 3 (fol. 3a)

liṅga madhye param liṅgam sthitam prādeśa sammitam |
samādhī-stotra-sampannau dṛṣṭavantau śivātmakam ||
naiva tat kāñcanam raupyam tāmram sphatika-mauktikam |
la+mātram sthitam śāntam kevalam tac-chivātmakam ||

¹¹⁻¹² Ibid., Chap. 3 (fol. 3b).

buddhen ābhyarcitam liṅgam jambunadamayam śubham |
tena buddhatvam āpnoti sadā śāntam avasthitam ||

Effects and praise of worshipping the Tribhuvaneśvara Liṅga; fateful results of doing otherwise. Results of establishing a Liṅga.

Chap. 4—Characteristics of Śiva-bhaktas (who should be energetic, pious, disregardful of all opposites such as happiness and sorrow, light and darkness, heat and cold, and so on).

Śiva as the best recipient of gifts.. Praise of constructing a Śiva-temple and of sweeping, whitewashing and repairing it annually, of besmearing it with cow-dung, of colouring its pavement, of furnishing it with pictures painted on walls,¹³ and so on.

Praise of Rudra as the highest god, the best knowledge and the best austerities.

Chap. 5—Results and praise of rendering various kinds of service to Śiva in the form of a Liṅga; viz; bathing the Liṅga with milk, curd, ghee, honey, sugarcane-juice, etc.; offer of eight kinds of materials of worship (aṣṭāṅgārgha) to it in dishes of gold, silver or some other metal; fanning it with fans made of palm-leaf, peacock-feathers, etc.; worshipping the deity with various kinds of flowers; offer of various articles of food, burning lamps, looking glass, etc.; holding a burning lamp on the head or forehead; saluting by lying prostrate before the Liṅga; eulogy of the god.

Results and praise of lighting series of lamps (dīpamālikā) in the month of Kārttika, decorating the Liṅga as well as the temple with flags and banners, sounding drums and various other musical instruments, arranging song and dance, especially of females, before the Liṅga, spreading a

*ārhatas tu sadā-kālaṃ puṣpa-liṅg-ārcanāt param |
ten-ārhattvam avāpnoti yogaṃ cāpi sudurlabham ||*

¹³ *Ibid.*, Chap. 4 (fol. 6b) :

kārayec citra-sāstrajñair yatnāc citraṃ śivālaye.

white or coloured canopy¹⁴ over it, constructing with bricks a house for Rudra having the form of the sacred fire, decorating the floor and yard with Svastika, Padma and various other paintings, digging tanks, wells, etc near Śiva-temples, and so on Praise of places of Śiva-worship as being equal to Kuru ksetra, Naimiṣa and Puskara

Chap 6—Propitiation (santi) of Śiva, Uma, Vinayaka, Mahākāla and many other divine and non divine beings by eulogising them for averting evils. In this connection the following deities and others have been described —

Ambikā, Vināyaka (who is said to be a son of Rudra and to have a big belly, a huge body, a bright collyrium-dark complexion, a tusk, the head of an elephant, and a snake as his sacred thread)¹⁵, Mahākala, Viṣṇu, Brahmanī (who has four faces)¹⁶, Rudrānī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Aindrī, Varāhī, Camundā and others, the various mother-goddesses (Mātaraḥ, such as Ākāśa-mātaraḥ, Loka-mātaraḥ, Bhūti mātaraḥ, etc.), the Ganas living in different directions, the king of gods (i.e., Indra) living in the city of Amarāvati lying in the east,¹⁷

¹⁴ For description of the canopy see *ibid.*, Chap 5 (fol 11b)

vitanam sita padmābham madhye padma vibhūṣitam |
 vicitrām eka varṇam va nava vastr opā obbhitaṁ ||
 kṛṅkṛṇi ravak opetaṁ candrakāśā copasobbhitaṁ |
 lambakāśa sūtra-damaś ca ghanta ruta vibhīṣitaṁ ||
 etc etc

¹⁵ *Ibid*, Chap 6 (fol 13 b)

*mahodaro mahakayah smigdhāñjana caya cchavik ,
 eka damstr utkato devo gaya vaktro mahabatah ||
 naga yajñ opaviti ca nag abharana bhīṣṭah |
 sarvartha sampad adharo gaḥ adhyakṣo vara pradāt |
 rudrasya tanayo devo nayako tha vinayakah |*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Chap 6 (fol 14a)

padma raga prabha deḥ catur vadana pamikaja /
aksa mal arpita kara kamandalu dhara subha ||
brahmaḥ saumya vadana śiva pīṇa parayana ||

¹⁷ *Ibid* Chap 6 (fol 15a)

amaravati nalla puri pī rva bhage vyavasthita

Agni living in the city of Tejovatī situated in the south-east (āgneye dig-vibhāge); Ananta (i.e., Śeṣa Nāga) living in Vai-vasvatī Purī in the south; Nirṛti, a Rakṣas, living in the city of Kṛṣṇā in the south-west; Varuṇa¹⁸ living in the city of Śuddhavatī in the west; Pavana¹⁹ (Wind) living in the city of Gandhavatī in the north-west; Kuvera²⁰ residing in the city of Mahodayā in the north; Īśāna²¹ living in the city of Yaśovatī in the north-east; Sarasvatī, who is said to have a body possessing stainless halo and looking as white as the ray of the autumnal moon ;²² Śrī ; Jayā Devī ; Aparājitā ; the Planets; the Nakṣatras (mentioned in the order from Kṛttikā to Bharanī) ; the Rāsis (zodiacal signs); the sages Kaśyapa, Gālava, Gārgya, Viśvāmitra, Manu, Dakṣa, Vasiṣṭha, Mārkaṇḍeya, Pulaha, Kratu, Nārada, Bhṛgu, Ātreya, Bharadvāja, Aṅgiras, Vālmiki, Kauśika, Kaṇṭha, Śākalya, Punarvasu, Śālaṅkāyana, and others; wives of sages; the Daitya kings (such as Śaṅkukarṇa, Mahājambha, Hayagrīva, Prahlāda, Tāraka and others) who are said to worship Hāṭakeśvara-deva regularly; the Nāgas (such as Karkoṭaka, Kūlika and, others); the Rivers (such as Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Narmadā, Gotamī, Kāverī, Varāṇā, Devikā, Chandrabhāgā, Godāvarī,

¹⁸ For description of Varuṇa see *ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 15b) :

bhadra-mauktika-saṃkāśaḥ paripīṅgala-locanaḥ |
śukla-vastra-parīdhānaḥ pāśa-basto mahābalaḥ ||

¹⁹ For description of Pavana see *ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 15b) :

tatra tāmreṇa dehena kṛṣṇa-pīṅgala-locanaḥ |
paṭa-vyāpt-āntar-ālīno dhvaja-yaśty-āyudh-odyataḥ |

²⁰ For description of Kuvera see *ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 15b) :

tatra devo gadā-bastaḥ citra-srag-vastra-bhūṣaṇaḥ |
brasva-bāhur mahā-tejāḥ paripīṅgala-locanaḥ ||

²¹ For description of Īśāna see *ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 15b) :

tatra mauktika-saṃkāśaḥ śaśāṃka-kṛta-bhūṣaṇaḥ |
tri-netraḥ śānta-rūp-ātmā akṣa-mālā-dharo dbarah ||

Ibid., Chap. 6 (fol. 16a) :

śarac-candr-āṃśu-gaureṇa dehen-āmata-tejasā |
sarasvatī śive bhaktā ||

Sarayū, Gandakī, Kauśikī, Sarasvatī, Nairāñjinā, Sona, Mandākinī, etc.), the Yaksas (such as Vaisravaṇa, Maṇibhadra, Suviroma, Pāṇcika, Vibhāṇḍaka, Dhṛtarāstra, Virūpākṣa and others), the Mountains (viz., Meru, Mandara, Kailāsa, Malaya, Gandhamādana, Śrīparvata, Mahendra and Himakūta), the eight Dvīpas including Gomathyo (?), the Oceans, and the Rāksasas, Dākinis, Bhūtas, Pīśacas, evil demons (supposed to seize upon children), etc

Praise of this chapter on propitiation (śanti)

Chap 7—Praise of worshipping Śiva in a Linga on particular days (viz., full moon day, new-moon day, the eighth day of the bright half of a month, the thirteenth and fourteenth days of the dark half of a month, and other Parvan days) and in different parts of the day Such worship is said to be more effective than the Agnihotra, Aśvamedha and other sacrifices

Rudra, Brahmā and Viṣṇu—the three Matras of Śiva ²³

Benefits of muttering the sectarian Mantra 'om namah śivaya' said to be the six-syllabled 'Śiva-sūtra', of which the Bhāṣya was later spoken out by the omniscient and self-born Śiva himself ²⁴

²³ *Ibid*, Chap 7 (fol 21a b)

rudro brahmā harīś cārva matrās tīśrah prakīrtitab ||
daśīṇe 'ṅge 'bbavad brahmā harīś vamaṅga sambbhavab ||
bṛdayannirgato rudro brahma viṣṇu śivātmakab ||
jagat sṛṣṭi karo brahmā viṣṇu[r] loka śimohakab ||
anugraha karo nitya līlo rudra śivātmakab ||
tribhīr etair jagad vyaptam karanair atma karmabbib ||
tīśro matrāb śi śyāitab sarva loka prapūjtab ||
etī eva trayo loka etā eva trayo 'gnayab ||
trayo guṇas trivargāś ca yat canyaj jagatī sthitam ||

²⁴ *Ibid*, Chap 7 (fol 21b)

sarv artha sādhanam mantram śiva sūtram śad akṣaram ||
bhāṣyam aśy aiva śi trasya sarvajñena svayambhuvā ||
paścat paraparāṇiḥ vyaktī artha gaditanī tu ||

Praise of devotees of Śiva as being far superior to those who observe celibacy, or regularly study the Vedas, or perform the Agnihotra and other sacrifices, or have mastered all the branches of learning.

Eulogy of Śiva.

Chap. 8—Description and praise of various kinds of devotional service to Śiva in the form of a Liṅga, in which all the sacred places and temples of deities are believed to lie hidden.—Bathing of the Liṅga with ghee for a day and night with song, dance, etc.; ceremonious Liṅga-worship during Parvan days; performance of the Car-festival of Śiva; giving to Śiva a vessel of ghee, a copper vessel full of gold (in the Soma-vrata during the full-moon day in the month of Vaiśākha), a sacred thread (during the full-moon day in the month of Āṣāḍha), a milch cow and a bull, a white bull, and a particular kind of cow called Kapilā (the milk of which a Śūdra is not permitted to drink without initiation to Śiva-worship).²⁵

Praise of cows, which are said to be as sacred as Brahmins and to have emitted the Vedas together with the six ancillary sciences (*gobhir vedāḥ samudgīrṇāḥ sa-ṣaḍ-aṅga-pada-kramāḥ*), and in which all the deities and holy places are said to dwell permanently.

Performance of Go-sānti, in which Śiva is invoked to save the cows from mortality.

Gift of horses, elephants, male and female servants, villages, hamlets, towns, land, etc.

Evil consequences of dispossessing one of landed property given to him previously by the disposessor himself or by any other person.

Consequences of taking illegal possession of property belonging to a deity or a Brahmin.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Chap. 8 (fol. 24b):

*kapilām yaḥ pibec chūdraḥ śiva-saṃskāra-varjitah |
sa prayāti mahāghoraṃ narakam nātra saṃśayaḥ ||*

Chap. 9—Description and praise of the Śiva-liṅga-vrata (which is said to have been performed by Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Devī, Skanda and other deities, sages, and leaders of Gaṇas, and which consists of bathing the Liṅga with water mixed with white sandal paste, placing it on a faultless lotus, worshipping it with white lotuses, Bilva leaves, etc., giving of fine cloth, various kinds of food and other things to it, and praying to it for forgiveness.

Chap. 10—Merits of observing fast and worshipping Śiva with the mention of his different names on the eighth and fourteenth days of both the fortnights during the different months of a year. Such fast is said to yield more merit than that earned by a person performing a long-continued sacrifice (Satra) or speaking the truth or visiting holy places or performing the Agnihotra or any other sacrifice.

Description and praise of Nakta-bhojana-vrata, Umā-maheśvara-vrata, Kṛṣṇa-caturdaśī-vrata, Śūla-dāna-vrata, Gandha-vrata, Śaiva-mahāvratā, Kailāsa-vrata, and Śivaratha-vrata.

Construction of earthen, wooden, stone or brick temples for Śiva and furnishing them with all requisites. Ten cows and an ox, bed, and other things are to be given to Śiva on these and other occasions.

Chap. 11—Nandikeśvara's statement that the 'Śivadharmā', declared by Śiva, is meant for yielding all the ends of life (including final emancipation) to those females and members of the four castes, who resort to the 'Śivāśrama' (stage of life in which Śiva is worshipped with all seriousness).

Construction of an ideal hermitage for Śiva-worship, which is to have a beautiful flower-garden on its north as well as a fire-sanctuary (agnyāgāra) and a guest-house for devotees of Śiva (śivabhaktābhyāgatālaya).

Absence of himsā in plucking flowers for Śiva-worship.

Praise of devotees of Śiva and of rendering service to them when they are tired, ill or otherwise. Praise of making gifts of necessary things to Śiva-bhaktas.

Denouncement of anger, and praise of tolerance (kṣamā), ahimsā, truth, non-stealing, etc.

Chap. 12—Nandikeśvara's enumeration of the various duties of the devotees of Śiva; praise of worshipping a long-neglected Liṅga without accepting anything; respect to be shown to Śiva-liṅgas, to Śiva-yogins, and to the flowers, garlands, etc. offered to Śiva; praise of gift of clothes, making of gardens, digging of wells, etc.; praise of feeding Śiva-worshipping Brahmins in Śrāddha and other ceremonies for the pleasure of Śiva; praise of Śiva-bhaktas (who are said to be much superior to Veda-knowing Brahmins), Śiva-yogins, Rudrākṣas and Śiva-dharma.

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²⁶ *Ibid*, Chap 11, fol 36b

eṣa dharma drumah śrīman asta śakhaḥ śivodbhavah

²⁷ See, for instance, the colophons (*iti śiva dharma śāstre nandi keśvara proktayam samhitayam* *adhyayab*) of Chaps 3 and 4 of the Asiatic Society (Calcutta) Ms No G 3852

²⁸ *Śiva dharma*, Chap 10, fol 30a

tan nirvedat ca vairagyam vairagyaj jñana sambhavaḥ ||
jñanat pravartate yogo yogad dukkhaṇtam apnuyat ||

²⁹ *Ibid*, Chap 1, fol 2a

bhaktir asta vidha [ca] sa yasmin mlecche 'pi vardhate |
sa viprendro munib śrīman sa yatib sa ca panditah ||

Praise of devotees of Śiva and of rendering service to them when they are tired, ill or otherwise. Praise of making gifts of necessary things to Śiva-bhaktas.

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esa dharma drumab śrīman aṣṭa śakhab śivodbhavab

²⁷ See, for instance, the colophons (*iti śiva dharma śāstre nandī keśvara proktayam samhitayam* *adhyayah*) of Chaps 3 and 4 of the Asiatic Society (Calcutta) Ms No G 3852

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²⁹ *Ibid*, Chap 1, fol 2a

*bhaktir aṣṭa vidha [cā]śa yasmin mlecche 'pi vardhate |
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sa vipreṇ dro munib śrīman sa yatib sa ca paṇḍitab ||*

Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad by the Śiva-worshippers. On the other hand, on one occasion a Śiva-worshipper has been called 'Māheśvara',³⁰ and on another a 'devotee of Maheśvara' has been praised. The sectarian Mantra of six syllables (viz., om namaḥ śivāya) has been called a six-syllabled Śiva-sūtra, the Bhāṣya of which is said to have been spoken out later by the all-knowing Self-born Being (Svayambhū).³¹ The word 'vāmācāra', used twice with respect to Śiva,³² need not be taken to connect the Śaivism professed by the present work with the Left-hand school of the Tantriks. This word simply means 'one of perverse activities', and nothing more.

We have already adduced reasons to show that the *Śiva-dharma*, originally a 'Śāstra', began to be looked upon as an Upapurāṇa much earlier than 1000 A. D. This early date of the work can be supported by various other evidences, some of which are noted below. There are inscriptional evidences which show that in South India the *Śiva-dharma* was often recited for popular instruction during the reign of the Colas from 1070 to 1279 A.D.³³ In the Library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, there is a Newari Ms. containing six different works including the *Śiva-dharma* and the *Śiva-dharmottara*, and this Ms. is dated by Mm. Haraprasad Shastri in 'the twelfth century' A. D. from the nature of its script. In the same Library there is another Newari Ms.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Chap. 11, fol. 34b :

sudūram api gantavyam yatra māheśvaro janah.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Chap. 7, fol. 21b. For the relevant lines see foot-note 24 above.

³² *Ibid.*, Chap. 4, fol. 6b :

*vāmāya vāma-rūpāya vāmācārāya bhāvīne|
vāma-kāntārdha-dehāya anantāya namo'stu te||*

Also Chap. 10, fol. 28a :

*sarva-velām atikramya naktam uttama-bhojanam|
vāmācāro mahādevo naktenoddharate narān||*

³³ See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, II. i. p. 481,

containing nine different works (including the *Siva dharma* and the *Śiva-dharmottara*), the eighth of which, called *Lalitavistara*, has a post-colophon statement which informs us that it was copied in the Nepālī Samvat 156 (= 1036 A D) during the reign of Laksmikāma-deva³⁴ The *Śiva dharma* has been mentioned in Candēśvara's *Kṛtya-ratnākara* (p 30) as well as in the *Śiva-purāṇa* (Vāyaviya samhita 11 24 170)³⁵ and the '*Saura-purāṇa*' as known to Hemādri³⁶, and its name has been included in the lists of Upapurāṇas contained in the *Kūrma-purāṇa*, *Garuḍa-purāṇa*, *Skanda-purāṇa*, *Bṛhaddharma-purāṇa*, *Parāśara upapurāṇa*, etc³⁷ A good number of verses of this work has been quoted in Nilakantha's *Ācāra mayūḥka*, Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgiśa's *Tantra sāra*, Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva*, Narasimha Vājapeyī's *Nityācāra prādīpa*, Vācaspati Miśra's *Kṛtya cintāmaṇi*, Rudradhara's *Varsa kṛtya*, Vidyāpati Upādhyāya's *Gangā-vākyāvalī*, Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, Hemādri's *Caturvarga cintāmaṇi*,³⁸ Devanabhatta's *Smṛti-candrikā*, and so on, and most of these quoted verses are found in the present text of the *Śiva dharma* (see Appendix I) So, the *Siva-dharma* must be dated earlier than 800 A D We shall show on another occasion that the *Śiva dharmottara* was composed later than the *Śiva dharma* but earlier than 800 A D So, the *Śiva-dharma* can by no means be dated later than 700 A D The facts that the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*³⁸ mentions the *Śiva dharma* in

³⁴ See foot note 1 above

³⁵ The Vayaviya samhita of the *Śiva purāṇa* has also incorporated verses of the *Siva dharma* For instance, the verse 'linga vedī bhaved devī,' which is ascribed to the *Siva dharma* in Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva* I, p 132 and which occurs in Chap 5 of the present text of the *Śivadharma*, is the same as *Śiva purāṇa*, Vayaviya Samhita, 11 27 13

³⁶ For the relevant verses of the *Saura purāṇa*, as quoted in Hemādri's *Caturvarga cintāmaṇi* I, pp 539-540, see foot note 4 above

³⁷ For these lists see my article in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XXI, 1940, pp 38ff

³⁸ For the date of the original chapters of the Brahma Parvan of the printed *Bhaviṣya purāṇa* see R C Hazra, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp 170-172

one of its original chapters and that the Nakṣatras have been mentioned in the latter work in the order from Kṛttikā to Bharanī³⁹ tend to indicate that the *Śiva-dharma* was composed earlier than 550 A. D. From the mention of the Buddha and the Ārhata as worshipping Śiva-līṅgas⁴⁰ and of the names of the zodiacal signs⁴¹ (rāśi) it appears that the *Śiva-dharma* was written later than the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*. So, this work is to be dated between 200 and 500 A.D.; and this early origin of the work explains why it is totally free from Tantric influence.

The opening verse (*namas tuṅga-śiraś-cumbi*², etc.) of our Ms., which is the same as the first introductory verse of Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harṣa-carita*, need not be taken to go against the above date of the *Śiva-dharma*. This verse, which does not occur in all Mss. of the *Śiva-dharma*, might have been added to it sometime between 650 and 1000 A. D.

It is difficult to say anything definitely about the provenance of the *Śiva-dharma*. From the mention of the names of mountains, rivers and holy places mostly belonging to Northern India it appears that this work was composed somewhere in that part of the country. The occurrence of the text of the *Śiva-dharma* mostly in Newari Mss. or on Nepalese paper and the mention of the Devikā, a small river in South-

³⁹ See *Śiva-dharma*, Chap. 6, fols. 16b-17a.

It is to be noted that the old arrangement of the Nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharanī was in vogue at least some time after the beginning of the third century A.D. When this order of the Nakṣatras was changed we do not know definitely. It is only as late as about 550 A. D. that we find in the *Brhat-saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira the new order of the Nakṣatras from Aśvinī to Revatī to be an established fact in all parts of India. So, it is highly probable that the old order of the Nakṣatras held ground at best down to the latter half of the fifth century A. D.

⁴⁰ For the relevant verses of the *Śiva-dharma* see foot-notes 11-12 above.

⁴¹ See *Śiva-dharma*, Chap. 6 (fol. 17a).

The familiarity of ancient people with the Tithis, Nakṣatras and planets but the total absence of the term 'rāśi' in all early works down to the time of the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, tends to show that the Indians were not familiar with the Rāśis earlier than the second century A. D.

ern Kashmir, and of the Candrabhāgā as a highly sacred river,⁴² seem to point to Southern Kashmir or the Northern Punjab as the place of origin of the *Śiva-dharma*⁴³

The similarity between the names of the *Śiva dharma* and the *Śiva dharmottara* has sometimes confused the Smṛti-writers in quoting verses from the one or the other. In his *Caturvarga cintāmaṇi* I, p 467, II 11, p 396 and II 11, pp 887-889 Hemādri wrongly ascribes to the *Śiva-dharmottara* three extracts of 3, 6 and 37 verses on 'vṛṣabhādhika-gō-sata dāna', Umā-maheśvara vrata and Śiva-linga-vrata respectively which really occur in *Śiva dharma*, Chaps 10 and 9. The verse

*"samskṛtaib prākṛtaib vakyaib yab śiṣyam anurūpataḥ /
deśa bhāṣādy upāyaś ca bodhayet sa gurub smṛtaḥ"*||,

which really belongs to *Śiva dharmottara*, Chap 2, has been wrongly ascribed to the *Śiva dharma* in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* III 1, p 353 and Raghunandana's *Smṛti tattva* I, p 657.

An examination of the extracts and verses quoted in different works from the *Śiva dharma*, shows that there has not been any serious change in the text of this work at least for a long time. Besides a few isolated verses mostly on Linga-worship, there is a long extract of 69 metrical lines on Mauna-vrata (Vow of Silence), which, though spoken out by Nandikesvara and ascribed to the *Śiva dharma* in Hemādri's *Caturvarga cintāmaṇi* II 11, pp 879-883, is not found in the present *Śiva dharma*. But the number of such untraceable verses is rather small in comparison with that of the traceable ones.

⁴² *Ibid*, Chap 6 (fol 18a)

⁴³ In my article on the *Viṣṇu dharmottara*, published in *Journal of the University of Gauhati* III, 1952, pp 39-64, I have shown that this work was composed either in Southern Kashmir or in the northern most part of the Punjab.

APPENDIX I

VERSES ASCRIBED TO THE ŚIVA-DHARMA OR ŚIVA-DHARMA-ŚĀSTRA

1. In *Smṛti-candrikā*
(of Devaṇabhaṭṭa) In *Śiva-dharma*
 - ii, p. 539 .. Chap. 7 (2 verses on fol. 20b).
 - p. 553 ... Chap. 7 (same 2 verses as mentioned above).
 - pp. 553-561 ... Chap. 5 (74 verses on fols. 7a-11a).
2. In *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* (of Hemādri) In *Śiva-dharma*
 - I, p. 467 ... Chap. 10 (2 verses on fol. 33a).
 - pp. 508-9 ... Chap. 8 (17 metrical lines on fol. 26a).
 - p. 593 .. Chap. 8 (1 verse on fol. 26a).
 - pp. 637-8 .. Chap. 8 (4 verses on fol. 26a).
 - p. 915 .. Chap. 10 (4 verses on fol. 32b).
 - II. i, p. 235 .. Chap. 5 (5 verses on fol. 7b). Of the 7 verses quoted by Hemādri, the last two (from 'payo-dadhi-ghṛta etc.'), are not found in the *Śiva-dharma*.
 - pp. 235-6 .. Chap. 5 (1 verse on fol. 8a).
 - II. ii, p. 154 ... Chap. 10 (4 verses on fol. 30b).
 - pp. 240-241 ... Chap. 8 (9 metrical lines on fol. 24a).
 - p. 241 ... Chap. 10 (3 verses on fol. 30b).
 - pp. 252-3 ... Chap. 10 (5 verses on fol. 30b).
 - p. 395 ... Chap. 10 (10 verses on fols. 29b-30a).
 - p. 843 ... Chap. 8 (4 verses on fol. 24a-b).
 - pp. 848-853 ... Chap. 10 (105 metrical lines on fols. 30b-32b).

pp. 887-9 ... Chap. 9 (37 lines on Śiva-liṅga-vrata
(wrongly ascribed to on fols. 26b-27a).
the *Śiva-dharmottara*)

pp. 911-912 Chap. 8 (6 verses on fol. 23a-b).

pp. 1030-31 .. Chap. 8 (12 verses on fol. 25b).

III. ii, pp. 881-2 ... Chap. 8 (4 verses on fol. 24a-b).

3. In Mādhavācārya's
commentary on the
Parāśarasmr̥ti (ed.
V. S. Islampurkar,
Bombay)

In *Śiva-dharma*

I i, pp. 375-6 ... Chap. 7 (1 verse on fol. 20b). The
second quoted verse (sakṛt pūja-
yate yas tu) is not found in the
Śiva-dharma.

4. In *Gaṅgāvākyaṭī*
(of Vidyāpati Upā-
dhāya, Calcutta
Sanskrit College
Ms. No. Smṛti-117)

In *Śiva-dharma*

fol. 25a-bcf. ... Chap. 5 (1 verse on fol. 12b).

fol. 47a ... Chap. 8 (2 verses on fol. 24b).

5. In *Varṣa-Kṛtya* (of
Rudradhara)

In *Śiva-dharma*

p. 151 ... Chap. 7 (2 verses on fol. 20b).

6. In *Smṛti-tattva* (of
Raghunandana)

In *Śiva-dharma*

I. p. 132 ... Chap. 5 (1 verse on fol. 10a).

7. In *Ācāra-mayūkha*
(of Nilakantha, ed.
Gujarati Printing
Press, Bombay)

In *Śiva-dharma*

p. 96 ... Chap. 5 (1 verse 'liṅgānulepanam,
etc.' on fol. 8b).

The other two quoted verses are
not found in the *Śiva-dharma*.

p. 97 ... Chap. 5 (1 verse on fol. 10a).

Verses from the *Śiva-dharma* have also been quoted in the following works :

Mitra Miśra's *Vīramitrodaya* (ed. Chowkhamba Sans. Series, Benares), Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 114.

Anantabhaṭṭa's *Vidhāna-pārijāta* (ed. Bibl. Ind.), II, p. 543; III, pp. 188, 236, 386, 440-2, 446.

APPENDIX II.

The verses ascribed to the '*Śiva-dharma*' in the following works are not found in the present *Śiva-dharma* :

(1) *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, pp. 44, 109; II. i, p. 44; II. ii, pp. 879-883 (on Mauna-vrata).

(2) Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, I. i, p. 190.

(3) *Gaṅgāvākyāvali* (of Vidyāpati Upādhyāya), fols. 25b, 47a, 47b.

(4) *Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi* (of Vācaspati Miśra), p. 46.

(5) *Nityācāra-pradīpa* (of Narasiṃha Vājapeyin), p. 138.

(6) *Smṛti-tattva* (of Raghunandana), I, pp. 129-130, 131, 407.

(7) *Tantra-sāra* (of Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa) I, p. 46.

(8) *Ācāra-mayūkha* (of Nilakaṇṭha), p. 94.

Supplement to the Madras University Journal

The Origin of Saivism and Its History in the Tāmīl Land

BY

K. R. SUBRAMANIAN, M.A.

*Lecturer in History, Maharaṇa's College,
Vizianagaram.*

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THE ORIGIN OF SAIVISM AND ITS HISTORY IN THE TAMIL LAND

BY

K. R. SUBRAMANIAN, M A ,

Lecturer in History, Maharaja's College, Vizianagaram

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PART I —THE ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE OF PHALIC WORSHIP

CHAPTER I THE NĀGAS

In this chapter, it is argued from quasi historical and historical sources that the Nāgas were a widespread people in Ancient India

SECTION A THE NAME 'NĀGA'

The Naga of Legend

Nāga is a Sanskrit word meaning snake It is also used by Sanskrit writers to designate a class of superhuman beings—who may be called 'snake-men' as their bodies are half human and half snake They can change their shapes at will They possess plenty of wealth Their women are very beautiful Their cities are magnificent. Eternal enjoyment is the characteristic feature of their life This curious people live in the nether regions, i.e., beneath the earth Instances are not wanting however, where the Nāgas are classified among the *Ganas* in *Suarga* attending on the Gods. Side by side with these legendary notions, the *Paurāṇikas* give us facts of the existence and kingdoms of human Nagas on *terra firma* Divested of strange attributes, they are men like any of us

Naga means Hill and Tree

If the legendary Nagas were so called because they lived beneath the earth, how did the human Nāgas acquire the appellation? It is difficult to answer definitely Naga means hill Since we read of *Dasyu* hill-forts in the *Vēdas*, some of the people of Ancient India must have lived on hills and in hill-caves These habitats might have given rise to the name Naga Naga also means tree Our country was full of forests in those days and their denizens might have been called Naga by an extension of the word from the shelter to the sheltered The enemies of the Aryans and Āryan sacrifices came as if from beneath the earth and swooped on the

Asrams and disturbed the *Rishis*. These evil-doers issued from the impenetrable forests of *Dandaka* as snakes dart out of their holes.

Nagna means Naked

Another explanation of the word *Nāga* is possible if it can be derived from *Nagna* which means naked. *Manimēkalai* speaks of the naked and cannibalistic *Nāgas* of the Nicobārs. In fact, the ancients were naked at first. Then they became semi-naked. Covering the upper part of the body is not ancient. Even kings and queens were sculptured in early times naked above the waist. Till late in the nineteenth century, most of the aborigines of Bastar were stark naked. Men and women of most of the jungle tribes are still nude to the waist.

Naga Totem and Cult

A more likely explanation of the name may be found in the cult of *Tree and Serpent worship*. This cult seems to have been widespread in Ancient India. But it must be said here and at once that this is a universal primitive cult.¹ The superstitions concerning the snake actuated by fear, or any other feeling or by its mysterious ways, weighed heavily on the minds of all the ancients.

So the term *Nāga* must have had primarily a totemistic significance. McLennan has shown that the primitive society was a network of totems each of which had an emblem. Obviously the *Nāga* totem in India had a large population spreading in all directions. The mention of the *Gajas* (elephants) and the *Garudas* (eagles)² as separate peoples in the *Purānas* tends to confirm this conclusion. These peoples revered and worshipped the symbols of their totems. Thus the *Nagas* would float the *Nāga* banner when they went to war or rejoiced in peace. They would not harm a snake and would even entertain the fond belief that the snake too would not harm them!

SECTION B. NORTHERN INDIA

There is no place in India without its *Nāga* stories. Let us survey some of these relics before digging for indisputable historical facts.

The Vēdas

The *Vēdas* are the oldest literature of India. They describe the antagonism between the *Āryans* and the *Dasyus*. This spirit of hostility continues to be portrayed in later Brahminical literature. Whether the difference between the two parties was ethnic, linguistic

¹ Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. xi, pp. 399-423.

² The war between the *Garudas* and the *Nāgas* is proverbial. One of the names of *Garuda* is *Kirātāsini*. The war between the *Guptas* and the *Nāgas* may be explained as a phase of the traditional conflict. The rivalry between *Vishnu* and *Siva* may be similarly explained.

Note — In the following pages No. 1 has to be read as No. 2.

or cultural the latter viz the Dasyus are associated with serpents ¹ One of the greatest foes of Indra was Vritra And in a few passages Vritra is spoken of as *Ahi* This famous Dasyu leader was the son of Danu This Danava was the head of the Kalakeyas according to the *Mahābhārata* ² Serpents are referred to as foes of Indra and the *Devas* in a few other passages Arbuda was another serpent enemy of Indra While writers are not wanting who explain away the references to serpents as mere imagery there are others who interpret the *Sisnadēvas* of the Dasyus as serpent deities Indeed one learned writer C V Vaidya³ goes to the extent of ingeniously identifying the Dasyus with the Nagas

The Purānas

The nether world is divided into seven regions by the *Purānas* of which the first four were occupied by the Daityas and the Danavas and the rest by the Nagas The lowest region was Patala a delightful account of which is given by Narada in the *Vishnu Purāna* ⁴ According to another division by the *Purānas*⁵ and the *Mahābhārata* India contained nine parts Of them the Western was the Naga Virupaksha the Naga demigod was the guardian of that quarter Alberuni in quoting this division added that Naga was south western Be that as it may one division of India was Naga

Patala

So we must look for Patala in the South West or West of India In the story of Jimutavahana ⁶ Gokarna is placed at the entrance to Patala We shall refer later on to the interesting Naga associations with Kanara and Malabar The location of this blessed region of music and damsels is not however easy For the mouth of the Indus the mouth of the Ganges Assam the valley of the Narmada Ceylon and further South have been called Patala now and then

At the mouth of the Indus Alexander found a port named Patala According to *Rājatarangini*,⁷ a Kashmir king entered the cave of Namuchi after crossing the Chinab and became king of Patala In the story of the Sagaraputras for whom the Ganges descended from the heavens Patala is placed at the mouth of the sacred river Assam was the Nagaloka of Ulupi the Naga princess who married Arjuna in his banishment It was also the *Naraka* of Narakasura a

¹ Quoted from Oldham *The Sun and Serpent* pp 32 35

Rig Veda i 32 5 8 52 10 *Ahi*=Vritra

i 61 8 i 80 1 i 103 7 *Ahi* as enemy of *Dēva* or *Arya*

i 51 6 i 11 20 ii 14 4 viii 3 19 Arbuda a serpent enemy of Indra

ii 11 18 *Sama Veda* ii 5 22 Vritra son of Danu

Read also Muir *Original Sanskrit Texts* iv pp 408-410 and Oldfield Howey *The Encircled Serpent*

² *Udyōga* and *Vana* (*Tīrthayātra*)

³ Quoted by Hiralal in *Maharaja's College Magazine* Vizianagram vol v part 1

See also Vaidya *Medieval India* vol i p 82

⁴ Vogel *Indian Serpent Lore* Introduction p 31

⁵ Majumdar *Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India* App 1

⁶ Vogel *ante* ch iv p 179 ⁷ Trans by Stein, ii stanzas 468-470

mighty monarch and the great ancestor of the Assam kings according to seventh century inscriptions.¹ Ptolemy calls the people round Sylhet the *Nangalogai* or the naked people. The Naga tribes and the Naga hills of Assam are reminiscent of these ancient traditions.

The Epics

The Epics refer to Bhogavati as the abode of the Nāgas. The *Rāmāyaṇa*² speaks of it as the city of Daityas and serpents under the rule of Vāsuki. The directions of Sugriva and the conquests of Rāvana the Rākshasa king of Ceylon contain a vivid account of the powerful Nāgas living in walled towns full of palaces and towers. Hiralāl³ locates Bhogavati at Rāmtik in Nāgpur District. 'With this location, the legend of the city being situated in Pātāla quite fits in as this tract of country lies just below the high tableland of the Satpurus.'

Some more Nāga Kingdoms

These children of Kadru, the Nāgas were the sons of earth in a real sense as they lived under it according to legends. One of them Sēsha, a demi-god and a sound Sanskrit scholar, was the great support of his mother! Every one knows that there is water beneath the earth. So the epic writer gets round the difficulty of locating the land of perfumes and beauties in water by saying that the ocean was the abode of the Nāgas. The Hindu story-writers are painfully at variance with regard to the location of Pātāla or Nāgaloka. When they wrote that it was beneath the earth, they meant that it was in some generally unknown and inaccessible part of the south. With the extension of geographical knowledge, their imaginary or fantastic Pātāla was shifted further and further south. At the same time, they did recognize the existence of Nagas by their side organized into kingdoms or republics. But the latter were not the Purānic Nagas with quaint features!

The *Mahābhārata*⁴ speaks of the ocean as the abode of the Nagas in general and does not give any particulars. We shall see later on that there were many Nāga islands near and away from India which kept up and improved the maritime, commercial and colonial activities of the mainland. The great Epic is not silent about the land kingdoms of the Nagas. Already, Bhogavati and Manipur of Ulūpi⁵ have been mentioned. Besides, in and round Indraprastha was a Naga region. The destruction of Khāndava forest⁶ and the expulsion of the natives of the place preceded the foundation of the glorious city of Indraprastha on the spot by the Pāṇḍava brothers. In the great war, the Nagas who swarmed from the frontier fought hard and revengefully on the side of Duryōdhana who came to be known as Nāgadhwaaja. The aftermath of this war was so bad that

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, voi. xii, p. 71; xv, p. 5.

² Trans. by M. N. Dutt, pp. 813, 1626. See also *M. B.*, trans. by M. N. Dutt, *Udyoga*, ch. 103.

³ *Maharaja's College Magazine*, vol. v, part I. See also Vogel, *ante*, ch. v, p. 201.

⁴ *Ādi.*, xxi. 6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ccxxxiv.

⁶ *Ibid.*, trans. by M. N. Dutt.

the Pāṇḍava-Naga rivalry continued till a Naga king of Takshasīla killed by trickery Parikṣhit the Great of the lunar race. This final attempt at supremacy fanned the smouldering embers and Janamejaya the son of Parikṣhit evidently fought with his enemies, took hundreds of them as captives and quenched the flame of his passion by burning them alive in the well known Sarpā-Yāga.¹ Also, did not the wicked Nagas steal away the jewels of Uttanka the devoted scholar on the banks of the Ganges? Worthier causes have not stimulated any war in history. But, Janamejaya had to contend against the Nagas on two sides. According to Uttanka, there were many Naga dwellings to the north of the Ganges, i.e., to the east of the Pāṇḍava capital. This great holocaust paralysed the Nagas. But it was only for a time. For, we shall see in due course how they revived once at least in the historical period, just before the rise of the Guptas. With remarkable fecundity, they bred and flourished again. And they have not died out till now.

Buddhist Stories

Buddhist literature tells more about the Nāgas. From the stories of Buddha we learn that the conversion of the Nagas was his great work. Undoubtedly Buddhism had greater success than Āryanism in elevating the Nagas. Buddha is associated with the Nāgas of even such distant places as Puhar of the Chola country.² Besides learning from this literature that the Nagas were spread throughout India, we get the information that the Nāgas were an inferior people and cursed their evil *karma*. What is more, one of the *Jātakas* throws out a hint about the loose morals of the Nagas.³

The N. W. Naga Kingdoms

There was a cluster of Nāga kingdoms in the north-west of India. Gandhāra (Kandahar) was one. Kashmir was another. The *Jātaka*⁴ which mentions the two kingdoms makes Takshasīla the Naga capital. The latter city so well known in the great Epic was the seat of King L'apatra who travelled all the way to Sārnath to hear the Teacher and was converted after a vigorous controversy.⁵ Two more Nāgarājas Gōpāla of the Kabul valley and Apalala of the Swat valley were converted by Buddha according to Huen Tsūng.⁶ The latter⁷ tells the story of a Sakya youth who became King of Udyāna (the Swat valley) by marrying a Naga Princess. The pilgrim adds that the Naga chiefs of those parts were conquered by Kanishka with some difficulty.

The Gangetic Kingdoms

Turning now to the Gangetic valley, we meet with a number of Naga kings. Two of them are located at the foot of Mount

¹ *Adi*, li.

² Trans. by Cowell, v, p. 85.

³ Vogel, *ante*, ch. 2.

⁴ Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, i, pp. 93, 122, 128.

⁵ *Ibid*.

⁶ *Akitta Jātaka*.

⁷ *Ibid* iii p. 229.

Daddura¹ in the Himālayas and in Kosāmbi² by the *Jātakas*. Hiuen Tsāng writes that near Ahichchatra (= serpent-umbrella) Buddha preached for seven days and converted its Nāga King.³ Near Kosāmbi, Buddha subdued another Nāga king.⁴ Magadha the first scene of Buddha's activities has many Nāga stories. Nāgas Svastika and Manināga belonged to this kingdom.⁵ Muchilinda the Nāgarāja who sheltered the Buddha under the *Bodhi* tree, and Nāgarāja Kala who predicted Buddha's enlightenment were natives of Magadha.⁶ The Naga of Urvila⁷ on the Naga river was converted after the first sermon. Between Rājagriha and Srāvastī, a bridge was built on the Ganges by the Nāgas for Buddha.⁸ Nālanda famous later as a university was named after a Naga.⁹

Buddha and the Nagas

In kingdoms like Magadha which were outside the Āiyan pale for long and which followed the Asura customs even with regard to the shape of the burial mounds, the new religion rapidly spread its way. The Sisunāga¹⁰ contemporaries of Buddha embraced the new religion. The Nāgas became friendly to Sākyasimha, adopted his faith, shared his relics and guarded his stupas. The eternal evidence for their conversion was the cobra hood over Buddha images. Buddhist relic worship had its origin in the Nāga ancestor-worship. Ancestor-worship, Serpent-cult and Saiva religion appear to have been mixed up in Buddha's time.

At birth, Buddha was bathed by two dragons. According to tradition which is confirmed by archæology¹¹, Buddha was first a worshipper of Siva. In the excavations at Kapilavastu, golden nāga figures were found.¹² A golden nāga was found in a tomb of Mahānāman the Sākya ruler after Buddha's father.

In the Sunlight of History

When we pass from Purānic to historical literature, we pass as it were from moonlight into sunlight. The features of men and institutions become clearer and we can speak of them with certainty. We shall divide our study under three heads (a) The Indus region, (b) The Jumna-Gangetic region, and (c) Central India.

The curtain lifts at Mohenjo Daro¹³ where Dr. Marshall has excavated remains of about 3000 B.C. A devotee with a Naga hood over his head indicating his Nāga lineage has been unearthed there. It would be unsafe to build on this slender evidence but for confirmatory evidences about the Nāgas of this region from Brahmanical and Buddhist literatures which have been

¹ *Ante*, iii. 11.

² Beal, *ante*, i. 200.

³ Vogel, *ante*, ch. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Beal, *ante*, ii. 167

² *Ante*, i. 206.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 237.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ch. 2.

⁸ Vogel, *ante*, ch. 2.

¹⁰ For the view that they and the Nandas were Nāgas see Fergusson *Tree and Serp. Worship*, pp. 63-4.

¹¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. v, p. 3.

¹² *Arch. Sur. of India*. A Report on a tour of exploration of the antiquities in Nepal Tarai, 1899, pp. 3, 26-27.

¹³ *Arch. Sur. of India, Annual Report*, 1924-5, p. 61. Also p. 4, Memoir No. 31, *Arch. Survey of India*.

abstracted above. The Takhis and the Vāhlas or Bāhlikas were the two large tribes that we must study in this region. The Kathes met by Alexander¹ at Taxila gave the name Kathiawār. Colonel Tod concludes that they were also called Takhis and were of the race of Takshaka.² There are references to the Nagas in the inscriptions of the Gurjara chief Dadda I who ruled near Kaira and Broach (fifth century A.D.)³ and the Gupta King Skandagupta⁴ who has left an inscription in Junagādh.

The Takhis and the Bāhlikas

Closely related to the Takhis were the Vāhlas or Bāhlikas lords of the Indus valley. The *Mahabharata*⁵ includes the Madras as a branch of the Bāhlikas whose capital was Sialkōt. Among them, property descended in the female line as among the Newārs and the Arattas. In the third century A.D., the period of disintegration in India, the *Puranas* say that three Bāhlikas ruled as independent kings for thirty years.⁶

Kashmir

By the way, it may be mentioned that after Aravalo the Naga king of Kashmir and contemporary of Asoka according to the *Mahawamsa*,⁷ we do not read of Naga kings as such in its annals till the Kārkōtas.⁸ But at every turn in that country there are Naga traditions and relics of the Naga cult.⁹

Naga Supremacy

Mention has already been made of Bāhlika independence. An unidentified Chandra of the Mehrauli pillar inscription,¹⁰ is said to have defeated the Bāhlikas among others and established his sovereignty over Northern India. This Chandra could not have ruled after Samudragupta who extended his rule over the bulk of Northern India. So, somewhere between the fall of the Kushānas and the rise of the Guptas to supremacy under Samudragupta i.e., roughly, in the third century A.D. we find a number of Nāga chiefs ruling in the Jumna-Gangetic valley.

Some Light on a Dark Period

At the end of the third century A.D., the *Puranas* say, the valiant *Visvasphani* (Nāga?) of the Māgadhas will be emperor of India.¹¹ The Bhāgavata locates his capital at Padmāvati.¹² Early in the

¹ Oldham, *ante*, p. 113.

² *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, vol. i, p. 702.

³ *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, ii, p. 313.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 218n. See also *Gupta Ins.*, p. 62.

⁵ *Karna*, ch. 37-38; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, p. 316.

⁶ Pargiter, *ante*, p. 73.

⁷ Geiger, p. 82.

⁸ Vogel, 231.

¹⁰ *Gupta Ins.* For a discussion about Chandra see A. V. V. Iyer's lectures, *The Hindu*, 13th and 24th February, 1928.

¹¹ Pargiter, *Dynasties*, p. 73.

¹² Tārānātha (seventeenth century A.D.) describes a family of Chandras who became rulers of Magadha from their home Aparāntaka. Of them Phani Chandra and Hamsa Chandra were powerful. A generation after the latter

fourth century there will rule nine Nāga kings at Champāvati or Padmāvati and seven at Mathura.¹

From the Gupta inscriptions we may infer that even during the fourth century A.D. there were many small Naga kingdoms in this region. They had to be subdued by the Guptas as the Nāgas of the Deccan had to be brought round by war or marriage by the Pallavas a century before. The Naga contemporaries and foes of the Guptas belonged to the semi-independent tribes in the later Gupta empire on its western frontier.

Naga Chiefs everywhere

In the early Gupta period, there was Mahēśvara Naga² son of Nagabhata. Nagasēna, Ganapati Naga and Nagadatta were conquered by Samudragupta. Before starting on his *digvijaya*, Samudragupta had to face at Puspa (Kanauj?) the combined attack of Achyuta (of Allichhatra), Nāgasena and an unknown king of the Kōta family.³ Probably these were neighbouring Nāga chiefs who confederated to deal a deadly blow to the rising new power. In the subsequent list of his conquests in Āryāvarta occur Chandravarma, Ganapatināga, Nāgasēna, Achyuta and others the last two evidently the same as those who attacked Puspa. Bhavanāga, another Naga king of the Gangetic valley gave his daughter in marriage to Gautamiputra Vākātaka, son of Pravarasena I. The Bhārasivas to which Bhavanāga belonged are said to be represented by the Bhār Rajputs. They were a powerful family as they are said to have celebrated many *Asvamedhas*.⁴ Kuberanaga⁵ a Naga princess is said to have been married by Chandragupta II and their daughter Prabhāvati was given in marriage to Rudrasena II Vākātaka, great-grandson of Gautamiputra. It is evident from the Naga marriage alliances with the Vākātaka and Gupta families that the Nagas were no small factors in the recent past and in contemporary politics. In Skandagupta's reign, Sarvanāga was the *Vishayapati* or governor of Antarcēdi, i.e., between the Ganges and the Jumna.⁶

Mention has been made previously of the Nagas of Mathura and Padmāvati (25 miles from Narwar). That the former was a big Naga centre from still earlier times can be amply proved from the Brahmi inscriptions which give plenty of Naga names largely of the *Kōliya gana*. A few of the Padmāvati coins⁷ with a humped bull on one side have been discovered and they evidently belong to the local Naga chiefs. The Bull mark on these coins and the name *Bhārasivas* throw some light on the cult of the Naga kings.

came Chandragupta. The problems of Chandra and the true extent of Samudragupta's conquests require further investigation. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. iv, p. 363; Vidyabushan, *History of Indian Logic*, p. 252 f. n.

¹ Pargiter, *Dynasties*, p. 73.

² *Gupta Ins.*, p. 283.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 13. Did the Kōta family belong to Nagarkot or Kārkōta Nagar, 75 miles from the borders of the Indore State. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xv, p. 289; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xiv, p. 45.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xii, p. 241.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xv, p. 39.

⁶ *Gupta Ins.*, No. 16.

⁷ *Rapson's Coins*, pt. v., No. 2. Also *Arch. Sur. of India, Rep.*, 1914-15, part I, p. 21; 1915-16, p. 101.

Central India—The Kīlakilas

Central India contains the old and noteworthy Buddhist monuments of Barhut and Sīnchī. They, as usual with others of their kind, contain many Nāga names. The *Purāṇas* speak of the Kīlakīla kings before Vindhyaśakti the first Vakātaka.¹ We do not know if we have to look for the Kālākeyas of the Mahābhārata in the Kīlakīlas and the Kālatojakas of the early fourth century A.D. Curiously, the *Vishnu Purāṇa* calls Vindhyaśakti² himself a Kīlakīla though we do not have any further evidence as to his Naga origin.

The Dynasty of Vīḍisa and the Maṇḍharyas

A dynasty of Vīḍisa came to fame just after the rise of the Vakātakas. At this time it is very difficult to synchronise the rulers of the *Purāṇic* dynasties at a particular period. It is however the first axiom of a *Purāṇic* critic that the *Purāṇas* speak of contemporary dynasties as if they were successive. So the Naga dynasty of Vīḍisa was an old one descended as it was from Adī-Śeṣha himself.³ Bhogin was the first famous king. He was a mighty monarch. His son and successor was Sadāchandra or Chāndrāmsa or Rāma Chandra who was a great ruler. It might be that the Vakātaka expansion was at the expense of the successors of Sadāchandra. Be that as it may, Naga dynasties are not wanting even as late as the end of the fourth century A.D. Gupta kings will enjoy only Magadha and upto Allahābad. To the west will rule the Naga kings.⁴ So the *Purāṇas* say. Whom do we find to the south (?) of the Gupta? Kings born from Maṇḍhanya or Maṇḍhara will enjoy the Naishādas, Yadukas, Śiśitas and Kāltojakas.⁵ The dynasty is undoubtedly Nāga as only the Naga is said by tradition to bear the *maṇi* or jewel in its head. To the east is an unidentified Jayanaga Mahārājādhirāja in the sixth century A.D.⁶

Some Later Relics

If we glance at the later history of these parts, the Kālachuri Chēdis of Bundelkand trace their ancestry to Kārtavīryārjuna⁷ the Haihaya or Ahiraya. The Gond chiefs of the Central provinces⁸ claim descent from the Nāgavamsa. The Rājas of Chōṭa Nagpur⁹ trace their origin to Naga Pundarika and even to-day their turban is like a coiled cobra and the cobra figures in their seal and arms. The race called Tusha, Taksha, and Tak relating to the Mori, the Paramas, etc., of Rājaputana, writes Col. Tod, an authority in this field, is met with in inscriptions of that part of the country.¹⁰

Before leaving this section, we are tempted to ask the questions, where these ubiquitous Nagas filling the canvas of history like

¹ Pargiter, *ante* p. 72² *Ibid.*, p. 72³ *Ibid.*⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 2⁹ *Ibid.*² Pargiter, *Dynasties*, p. 72 n⁴ *Ibid.* p. 73⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, p. 61⁶ Vogel, *ante* Introd., p. 36¹⁰ 186. See also *Ind. Ant.* vol. XIV, p. 75 and *Arch. Surv. of India*, Rep. II, p. 310

the proverbial winged ants were before the third century A.D. and where they went after. The only possible answer is that they have been there always.

SECTION C. THE DECCAN

There are more remains of the Nagas in the Deccan and South India, either because of the barrier of mountains and forests which effectively prevented, for long, foreign influences from filtering down to the south or because there were more of the Nāga people in these regions.

Mythology—The Harivamsa

Reference has already been made to the location of Pātāla somewhere in the Narmada valley and south of Gokarna. The *Harivamsa*¹ the oldest Purāṇa mentions the four sons of Yadu by Nāga wives who had founded four kingdoms in Māhishmati (the Narmada valley), Sāhyādri tableland (somewhere in the middle of the Western Ghats), Banavāsi and Ratnapura (in Central Provinces?). If there is any truth in the statement, the Deccan except the eastern coastal strip, was ruled by Nagas from the earliest times.

Naga Islands

The Buddhist stories speak of Nagarājas Krishna and Gautamka coming to hear the Buddha in Suppāraka from their isles in the western ocean.² As sure as anything, they were converted to the new faith. The *Jātakas* speak of a Nāga island near Broach³ (Elephanta?) and another Kāradwipa⁴ near it.

The story of the Nagas of Majerika interests us most. The relics of Rāmagrama⁵ were rescued from destruction by the local Nagas and carried to Majerika and subsequently to Ceylon. Cunningham locates Ptolemy's Mālānga near Masulipatam and his Bassaronagos in the tract of country between the Gōdāvari and the Krishna surrounded by water on three sides. Whether we agree with the identifications of the learned Doctor or not, there is no doubt that the Vēngī (= tiger) country was a populous Naga centre once upon a time. By the way, it may be mentioned here that Sālivāhana, the founder of the Sātavahana dynasty which ruled in the Deccan from the time of Asoka, and over it till the third century A.D. was born to Ādi-Sēsha the Nāgarāja and a Brahman girl of Paithān on the upper Gōdāvari.

Some Historical Dynasties—The Haihayas

The Haihayas are an ancient dynasty. In Mahishmati Rāvana is said to have been defeated by Kārtavīryārjuna Haihaya. The dynasty was descended from Ahi or Vritra.⁶ Traces of this

¹ Vaidya, *Mediæval Hindu India*, i, p. 80.

² Vogel, *ante*, ch. 2.

³ iii. 124.

⁴ iv. 150.

⁵ Majumdar, Cunningham's *An. Geog.*, pp. 611 and 612. See also Beal, *ante*, ii, 27.

⁶ *Maharaja's College Magazine*, vol. v, part i, by Hiralal.

dynasty can be found even in the later centuries. The Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya II and the Rashtrakuta kings Krishna II and Indra III married Haihayas.¹ There were a group of Ahirayas in the Gulbarga District in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries.² As late as A D 1040 an Ahiraya connects himself with the ancient³ Mahishmati. Haihaya chiefs are met with in inscriptions of later centuries in Palnād⁴ now a desert but full of glory in the Buddhist age (Guntur District.) The later Kona chiefs of Gōdavarī claim descent from the Haihayas.⁵

The Andhras and the Chutus

Epigraphy reveals a large Naga population in the Deccan including Mysore from the early centuries of the Christian era. The Chutus or Nagas of South Deccan bore the title of Mahārathi and called themselves Nagas.⁶ They were governors under the Satavahanas, and, on their fall became supreme in the Deccan. The Myākadonī inscription⁷ mentions a general of Pulumavi (third century A D) called Skandanāga in modern Bellary District. The inscription at Malavalli⁸ of one Chutukulananda Satākarni king of Vaijyanti (third century A D) establishes the sway of the Nagas further south.

The Kanhēri inscription⁹ of Naga Mulanika wife of a Maharathi, daughter of 'the Great King' and mother of Skandī Naga extends the Chutu realm to Aparāntī north of modern Bombay. A Nasik inscription mentions a royal officer Agīyatānaka and his son Kapanānaka.¹⁰ Agnī Mitra Naga has given a lion pillar at Karli near Bombay (first century A D).¹¹ The earliest inscription of Nanāghat (second century B.C.) speaks of the Andhra queen Naganika and an Andhra general Nākāyiro.¹² An inscription at Bhaja contains the name of a Naga of Bhogavāta¹³ while another from Kuda¹⁴ refers to nun Naganika, niece of Agnimitra Naga. The sculptures of Naga kings and big men and ordinary Naga men and women at Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta reveal in a curious manner the existence of a Naga population there. The inscriptions at Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta contain plenty of Naga names.¹⁵ A cursory reading of Luder's list of Brāhmi inscriptions will place before us hundreds of Nāga names. Place names and personal names may not be safely trusted as primary evidence, but are useful as secondary evidence to prove our case. Vaidya,

¹ *Lp Ind*, vol. xii, pp 269, 292

² *Ibid*

³ *Ibid*

⁴ *M E R*, 1910 p 117, 1912 p 84

⁵ *Ibid*, 1894, 28th Sept, p 4

⁶ Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, ch 3

⁷ *Ep Ind*, vol xiv, p 153

⁸ 1195 of Luder's list in *Ep Ind*, vol x, App

⁹ *Ibid*, Nos 985 1021, 1186

¹⁰ No 1141 Luder's list *Ep Ind*, vol x, App.

¹¹ *Ep Ind*, vol vii, p 49

¹² 1114 and 1116 of Luder's list, *ante*

¹³ *Ibid*, 1078

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 1078

¹⁵ For sculptures of the people called Nagas see pp 28, 29, 31, 56, 60, 92. For their names, see Burgess, *Buddhist Stūpas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, pp 55, 82, 91, 100, 110 and 111

as usual, makes an ingenious guess that the Sātavāhanas were Mahārathi Kshatriyās of the Nagavamsa.¹ But tradition calls them Brahmans on their mother's side and they call themselves Brahmans. However, we may infer from the abundant Naga names in inscriptions and Naga sculptures that the Deccan was a populous Naga centre and the Naga cult was popular there.

The Pallavas a feudatory of the Āndhra rulers succeeded to the rule of the Deccan by befriending the Chutu Nagas. They were established as kings by a Naga marriage. The Chalukyas overthrew a Trilōchana *Pallava* to establish their power in the Deccan.

The Ālupas and the Sēndrakas

If we take the history of the Deccan a few centuries later, we find several Nāga dynasties like the Ālupas,² the Sēndrakas³ and the Sindas.⁴ The Ālupas or Āluvas (kings?) were one of the feudatories of the Western Chālukyas some of whose inscriptions mention them as such. Their kingdom lay to the north-east of Banavāsi province. Their history before the seventh century is in obscurity. *Chitravāhana* seems to have been a familiar name among the early kings. It must be noted, as Dr. Fleet suggests, that Āluka was an epithet of Sēsha. We cannot say at present if there were any relations between the Chitravāhanas and the Sātavāhanas.

The Nāga-khanda

Another feudatory of the Western Chalukyas was the Sēndrakas. Their province was Nāyar-khanda or Nāgarkhanda which roughly comprised a division of the Banavāsi province. South Deccan and North Mysore were the Naganadu. The Sēndrakas were feudatories of the early Kadambas.⁵ In an inscription of Vinayāditya (A.D. 680-696), the province of Nāga-khanda is called Nāyar-khanda whose people had 'as their crest the Naga called Nagara-hāvu in Canarese.'

The Sindas

It might be that the Sindas derived their name from the famous river Sindhu (= the Indus). Any way, they are found in the eleventh and twelfth centuries over a large portion of the Deccan. The Sindas of Bijapur and Dharwar were of the Naga race, had the Naga banner and called themselves lords of Bhōgavati. Their ancestors were Pulikāla (Drav: *puli*=tiger) and Nagāditya. They had many branches of which five are given below.

¹ *Medieval Hindu India*, vol. i, p. 262.

² *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, part ii, p. 309. See also *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ix, p. 15.

³ *Bombay Gazetteer*, p. 292. Also *Ep. Ind.*, vol. iii, 51. Also *Bombay Gazetteer*, p. 281 n. Also *Ep. Ind.*, vol. v, p. 259.

⁴ *Bombay Gazetteer*, pp. 573-6; *Ep. Ind.*, iii, pp. 231, 308, 311, 316; ix, 161, 175, 311; x, 25, 31, 35, 37, 39, 40; xiv, 265, 268. See also *M.E.R.*, 1909, pp. 111-5. Also Nos. 193 and 198 of 1913 and p. 523 of 1914; *M.E.R.*, App. Lastly, Vaidya, *Medieval Hindu India*, vol. i, p. 86.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xiv, pp. 13 and 14.

THE SINDAS

1	2	3	4	5
Of Bagadage (Bagalkot) under the W Chalukyas tenth and eleventh centuries	Of Erambarage (Yelburga) twelfth century a branch at Sudi Dharwar District	Arasab di (Bijapur) the dynasty of Munja	Karahata (Satara) Sindas of Belgave	Chhindas of Bastar eleventh century

Besides the above there were minor chiefs of the Sinda family in Nolambavadi and Kadambalege. There are Sinda place names in Bellary even now. The Sindas called themselves emperors of Patala. Such a widespread dynasty could not have come into existence all of a sudden and their presence in a region once occupied by the Chutus and the Andhras is not fortuitous.

The Sindas of Bastar

The Sindas of Bastar were one of the thirty six *Agnikulas*. They say in their inscriptions that they belonged to the Naga Vamsa and had the title of lords of Bhogavati. They had the tiger crest and the snake banner. The *linga* is found in their copper plate grants. They were of the Kasyapa gotra. Their inscriptions are found only from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. But there were Nagas in and round Bastar from much earlier times. Tivaradeva of Dakshina Kosala (A.D. 425) is said to have defeated the Nagas somewhere in that region.¹ Again the Naga chief mentioned by Vijayaditya II Eastern Chalukya in his inscription² (A.D. eighth century) cannot be mistaken for any other than a potentate of Bastar.

SECTION D SOUTH INDIA AND CEYLON

Stories—The Epics

Ceylon has had close relations with South India from early times. If Ceylon was the abode of the Rakshasas so parts of South India were according to the Ramayana. If Ceylon was the abode of the Nagas and the Yakshas according to the *Mahawamsa* so parts of South India were according to various other accounts. The nether regions have been assigned to the *Rakshasas* and the Nagas by the *Purāṇas* and so South India and Ceylon being the farthest land limits of India must have appealed once to Northern imagination as Patala. *Sthalapurāṇas*³ are not wanting in the *Tamilakam* which mention Naga chiefs as worshipping at some of the Saiva shrines. The *Mahabharata* narrates the flight of some of the Nagas of the Khandava forest to Ramanaka (Parasuramanaka i.e. Malabar) whose people are described as handsome and rich and as devotees of Yakshas.⁴ According to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*⁵ the original home of Kaliya was Ramanaka.

¹ *Gupta Ins.* p. 298² *Ind. Ant.* vol. xx p. 101³ Narasimhalu Naidu *History of South India* (Tamil) pp. 49, 322, 331, 635, 637, 719, 781, 787, 811, 817, 828⁴ *Blissma* viii⁵ *Vogel ante* ch. i p. 88 n.

The Mahāvamsa

Buddhist stories also people these regions with Nagas. The *Mahāvamsa* which professes to sketch the history of Ceylon from Buddha's time has two interesting stories for us.¹ Vijaya met with the Nagas and Yakshas in the island on his arrival from Kalinga on his conquering expedition (sixth century B.C.). Secondly, two Naga chiefs of Manipallavam Mahodara and Chulodara fought for the kingdom, while Buddha interfered, pacified and converted them.

Manimēkalai

Manimēkalai has a similar story about Manipallavam, an island between India and Ceylon, 30 yojanas south of Puhār.² It also locates Naganādu somewhere about Ceylon by narrating a big catastrophe of an earthquake in a town in Gāndhāra which sank 400 yojanas on that account till it reached Naganādu!³ The island of Manipallavam is the scene of a romantic story of a Chola king which we read in the same epic. The royal hero went to Pātāla and had *liaison* with Pīlivalai, daughter of Valaivanan king of Manipallavam. The child born of this union was Tondamān Ilam Tirayan in whom some writers see the progenitor of the later Pallavas.⁴ The epic inhabits the isles north-east of Ceylon with cannibalistic Nagas and suggests that Java too was Naga by mentioning Nagapura as its capital.⁵ One more place is associated with the Nagas by Manimēkalai and that is Puhār the splendid capital of the Chōlas which is praised for its magnificence from the epic days through the days of Buddhadatta, Sambandhar and Pattinathār. Puhār was once the capital of the Nāgas who were driven out by the first Chōla king Muchukunta with the aid of Indra's demon.⁶ The suggestion that is conveyed by this account is that Muchukunta was an outsider and conquered the Nāganādu on the banks of the Kāveri. He helped Indra⁷ at *Amarāvati* against the Asuras and so was helped by the latter in his southern conquest. The sister epic *Silappadikāram*⁸ compares Puhār with the Nāga capital, and Puhār has been known as Nagaram or Pattinam the city *par excellence* from early times.

Historical facts—The Chōlas

Ptolemy the geographer mentions Uraiur near Trichinopoly as Orthoura⁹ (= Uracapura or Snakecity?). Sornagos was ruling there in his time (150 A.D.) evidently a descendant of the Chōla and the Naga families. There were Nagas in and round Nega-

¹ Trans. Geiger, pp. 6, 54, 55. See also Beal, *ante*, i, Introd., p. lxxii.

² pp. 68, 81, 86.

³ pp. 83 and 84.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. lli, p. 75.

⁵ p. 225.

⁶ p. 11.

⁷ This may be a reference to a Satakarni. The Ikshvāku associations, stories of Muchukunta in Palnād, and traditions of a Kākāndi in Nellore open a new vista of thought.

⁸ p. 34. The Nattukkottai Chettis call themselves Nagarathar and Puhār or Nagaram they claim as their original home. A study of the community in Thurston's *Castles and Tribes of South India* makes us suspect their Naga lineage.

⁹ M'Crindle, *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy* (1885), pp. 63-4.

patam¹ (Nāgappattinam) which is mentioned by Ptolemy and early Tamil literature. The *Batoi* who, he says, lived round the place were probably the Parathavar. The name Chōla itself seems to have been derived from *Chora* meaning thief (Tam. *Kallan*) though Muchukunta and his dynasty claim Ikshvāku descent.

The Pāndya

Kanakasabai Pillai, the father of Tamil history, calls the *Maravar*, the *Eyinar*, the *Oliyar* and the *Parathavar* Nagas.² The fierce *Maravas* of Pāndya gave the title *Maran* to their ruler. Is it unlikely that the Pāndya was of *Marava* lineage especially as the *Maravas* are the most populous and noteworthy of the Pāndya inhabitants? Their marriage and religious customs are peculiar like those of the *Kallar* and mark them off as a community different from the caste non-Brahmans.

The Chēra

The Chēra is another ancient Tamil kingdom. It consists primarily of the Malabar coast the Rāmanāka of the *Muhabharata*. This country is known in Tamil as Malaiyālam i.e. *Kurinji* land or land of mountains the abode of the *Kuravar*. Their kings called themselves Vānavar probably because they lived in Malainādu; they had the appropriate bow emblem.

The Nāyars

The Chēra country is the land of the Nāyars which, on account of its isolation, has preserved to this day some of the peculiar social and religious customs. The word Nāga is sometimes written in early inscriptions, Nāya as in Nāyanika which occurs in the Nānāghāt inscription (150 B. C.). So it is probable that the Nāyars of Malabar represent in a comparatively pure state the ancient Nagas, whereas their neighbours had long ago evolved out of the old customs and manners. But it must be borne in mind that in evolution the original stamp is not completely effaced.

The wearing of the Nāgapatam by Nāyar women till recently, the great reverence for the Nāga throughout Malabar, traces showing the prevalence of polyandry once, the *marumakkathāyam* law of inheritance—do these not confirm the equation of Naga and Nāya?³ The peculiar top-knot in which the hair is tied by the Nāyars and some ancient Brahman communities like the Chōliyas, the Dikshitar 3000, and the Nambudris might have suggested to the artist the peculiar mode of representing the Nagas.⁴

Generally in the south-western corner of every Nāyar house compound, there is the serpent-grove. Besides worshipping the higher Gods, the Nāyars adore serpents, spirits and demons like Yakshi. Specially on the *Tiruvonam* day their national festival

¹ M'Crindle, *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy* (1885), pp. 63-4.

² *The Tamils 1800 Years Ago*, p. 42.

³ See under *Nayar* in Thurston, *ante*. Another survival of Naga is in *Nāyaka*.

⁴ The idea of the artist is to distinguish the *Nāga* from the non-Nāga, so the natural Nāga hood or tall. See page 68, Fergusson, *ante*.

when Mahābali their great and good emperor visits the earth, the Nāyars do not fail to worship serpents and spirits. It appears that the Tamil Kārthiga festival also is to celebrate Mahābali's good rule.

The Pallava

The Pallava appears late on the scene as a power in the Tamil land. Some opine that they are descended from the Tirayar (or wave-men) a section of the Parathavar (coastal men), while others connect them with the foreign Pahlavas. To those who call the Pallavas descendants of Tondamān Ilam Tirayan, it may be said that nowhere do the historic Pallavas claim relationship with the Chōlas or the Ikshvāku family, though their founder claims to have become king by marrying a Naga.

The Tondai Nādu, the homeland of the Pallava, was inhabited by the Kurumbar or Aruvar or Aruvālar (Tam. Aruval=bill-hook) according to a Mackenzie manuscript and early Tamil literature. They were a pastoral and nomadic tribe. Their country was divided into Aruvānādu and *Aruvavadathalai* (=north Aruva). Aruvānādu according to a ninth century inscription¹ began roughly near Bāhur or Pondicherry. The other, Aruva-vadathalai must have begun somewhere about Kānchi and extended northwards up to the northernmost limit of Tamilakam somewhere near Pulicat beyond which lived the Vadugar or Northerners, speaking a language different from Tamil from the age of Tolkāppiyam which defines the Tamil boundaries. These Aruvars of the two divisions were in immediate contact with the Vadugar who came to call all the Tamils Aravar. Aravar means Nagas in Tamil, but we do not know for certain if the Aruvar were Nagas.

This division of the Tamil land is also known as Māvilangai (Mahālanka) in Tamil. Why it was so called we cannot even guess at present. Ptolemy² mentions the Arvarnoi who had in their territory Mālānga the emporium and Mālānga the capital inland where Basaronāgas their king resided. North of the Arvarnoi was Maisolos which has been correctly identified with Masulipatam. Cunningham identified Mālānga with a place near Masulipatam,³ and Basaronāgas with the Pāli Majerika Nāga of Amarāvati according to the *Mahāvamsa*. But, there are reasons to think that Mālānga of the Tamil land did not extend so far. The Arvarnoi were the Tamil Aruvar or Aruvālar and Malānga was a place in Tondai. There is a place called Kilmāvilangai⁴ in Tindivanam Taluk and Singavaram (Simhapura) near Gingee is another significant place. Kanakasabai located the inland Mālānga in Kānchi⁵ and the coastal Mālānga in that case would be Mahābalipur (orig. Maha+ila+pur?). Malānga may be written as Māilam also and in that case Mailam and Mailapūr would compete with the other places for the distinction conferred by Ptolemy. Equally doubtful we are with regard to the identification of Basaronāgas. What is more

¹ *Ep. Ind*, vol. xviii, p. 5.

² M'Crindle, *ante*, pp. 65, 185.

³ Majumdar, *ante*, pp. 617-8.

⁴ *M.A.R.*, 1919-20, p. 26.

⁵ *Ante*, p. 27. According to one view, Tondaman the Young Tiraya a Chola-naga was governor of Kānchi about the time of Ptolemy i. e. the second century, A.D.

difficult to comprehend in Ptolemy is his location of the *Sore* or *Chōlas* in the Aicot region (A.D. 150)!

Oymānādu (lit. the land of bulls or buffaloes) seems to have been another name for Aruva and Aruvavadathalai. In later Chōla inscriptions,¹ Oymānādu is placed round Tindivanam Taluk. *Amār*, Eyilpattanam, Vellote and Mālānga were its chief towns according to *Sirupānāruppadaḥ*² one of the Ten idylls one of the so called Sangham collections. This poem describes a chief Oymān Nalliakkōdan (= Kārkōta?)³ who lived after the hey-day of the Tamil kings and chiefs (in the third century A.D.). Nannāgan⁴ has also sung of this chief and his successors Oymān Allīathan and Oymān Vīllīathan (= Vijayaskanda?).

The Pallavas were kings of Kānchi about the middle of the third century A.D. The Vēlūrpālaiyam plates⁵ of the ninth century inform us that Virākūrcha the first Pallava king attained the high status by marrying a Nāga princess. Even the earlier Pallavas had Nāga blood in their veins as their ancestor Asvathāman the Brahman archer had a Naga wife who gave birth to the Pallava⁶ dynasty. Coming to historical times, let us inquire who the Nāga princess was who was married by Virākūrcha. If Virākūrcha's kingdom was Kānchi, then in all likelihood he married a princess of the family of Nalliakkōdan whose family is said to have patronized Tamil literature after the great days of the three kings and seven chiefs and ruled over Oymānādu, Ērumānādu,⁷ Mālānga, Aruva Nadu and Aruvavadathalai, or Tondai Nādu. A Pallava could have possibly become king only after Pulumavi III (about A.D. 230).

¹ Nos. 253 and 256 of 1913, No. 303 of 1910, No. 279 of 1909, Nos. 246 and 247 of 1901, and No. 353 of 1900, *M.E.R.*

² Lines 111-26. See also the Editor's Intro. to *Pattuppāttu*.

³ It is difficult to say how Sanskrit names were translated in those days. Nilanāga might have been his Sanskrit name. Is it likely that Nilarāja of Avamukta was somewhere about these parts? According to *Periāṭṭurānam*, a Lord of Mukta *Mūḥanāḍhan* was a neighbour of Meyporul Lord of Cheḍi. See also No. 392 of 1911, No. 516 of 1906 and No. 324 of 1912. But neither the shrine of Avimuktesvaram in Kārvēṭṭanagar nor Muktinādu round Muttukuru helps us very far in locating Avamukta.

⁴ I thank my learned friend Mr. V. Narayana Iyer, M.A., M.L., for having drawn my attention to a large number of poets in the so called Sangham period, whose names end in Nāga. Thus we have Anumaiya Nāganār, Ilanāganār, Inichandannāganār, Kannanāganār, Thangālporkollan Vennāganār, Madurai Kollan Vennāganār, Madurai Poovandanāgan Vēttanār, Madurai Perumaruthulanāganār, Madurai Marudan Ilanāganār, Muppērnāganār, and Vellaikudi Nāganār in *Narrinai*, Nannāgayār, Theemmathi Nāgan, Nāgam-pōthan, Ponnāgan, and Madurai Kadayathār Nagan Vennāgan in *Kurunthogai*, Anjil Anthamagal Nāgayār, Elūppanai Nāgan Kumaranār, Madurai Kallir kadaiyathan Vennāganār, Madurai Tamizh Kūthan Nāgan Thēvanār, Madurai Ponsekollan Vennāganār, and Madurai Ilanāganār in *Ahanānūra*, Nannāganār Purathinai Nannāganār, Madurai Kallirkadaiyathan Vennāganār, Madurai Poothan Ilanāgan, Madurai Marudan Ilanāgan, Marudaṇ Ilanāgan, Murinṭiyūr Mudināgarāyar, Vīrichiyūr Nannāganār and Vellaikudi Nāganār in *Puraṇḍūru*. Out of ten who set the pieces of *Paripāḍal* to music five call themselves Nāgas, Pethanāganār, Nāganār, Nannāganār, Nannāganār and Kanna-nāganār. The above list is interesting in more ways than one.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, vol. II, pt. v.

⁷ *Pattuppāttu*, p. 128n.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. v, p. 49.

We have to place Vijayaskandavarman Mahārāja of Kānchi at the end of the third century A.D. So it is probable that the tradition about the obtaining of a kingdom by Vīrakūrcha by a Naga marriage was in reference to the kingdom of Kānchi which was evidently partitioned out of Oymānādu as a dowry to the princess. Thus the Governor of the Andhra ruler became king.¹

The name Basaronāgas of Ptolemy, the meaning of Aravar (a variation of Aruvar) in Tamil, and the existence of the Oliya Nagas as late as the eleventh century according to an inscription of Rajendra I at Mahābalipur² make it probable that the Aruvar or Kurumbar were Nagas. Ilam Tirayan, Naga on his mother's side, who ruled Tondai, the suffixes Kōda and Ādhan in the names of the Oyman chiefs and the affiliation in name to Lanka the land of Nagas and Nāga kings³ tend to confirm to a slight extent the abovesaid probable theory.

CHAPTER II. THE EVOLUTION OF THE NĀGA CULT

This chapter deals with the successive stages of religious evolution among the ancient people of India of whom the Nāgas were probably the most numerous and widespread section.

SECTION A. ĀRYAN AND UN-ĀRYAN

The terms Āryan and un-Āryan have been used with a racial, linguistic or religious significance. It has been contended that there are three distinct racial strains in India.⁴ It has also been urged that the Dravidian languages⁵ form a group by themselves apart from the Āryan languages and misleading inferences have been drawn about race from language.

One may or may not agree with the above conclusions about race and language.⁶ He may fall in with the Paurānic view that Kāśyapa⁷ was the parent of Dēvas, Asuras, Nāgas, Yakshas and others. But he cannot so easily brush aside the religious differences between Āryan and un-Āryan so noticeable from the Vēdic age.

The Dāsas or Dasyus come in for a good deal of odium at the hands of the Vēdic psalmists. They are black in colour and they yell (*Pariah*: lit.) and do not speak. The same contempt without the Vēdic militancy is portrayed in later Brahmanical literature like the *Purānas*, the two Epics and the Laws of Baudhāyana.

But, even with regard to this proposition, the *Purānas* do not place us on firm ground. The Asuras and Rākshasas are spoken

¹ The dynasties on the East coast from Kalinga to Kanchi, A.D. 300-500 are presumably of the same stock. They supplanted the Andhra. See pp. 60-61, *Puranānūru* Introd. Pandit S. Iyer's Edition for the Nāga lineage of the Oymāns or the Oviyar

² Kanakasabai, *ante*, pp. 43-44.

³ Geiger, *Trans. of Mahāwamsa*, Introd., pp. xxxvii-xxxviii.

⁴ For an ethnological study, see Risley, *Peoples of India*, ch. i.

⁵ For this view, see Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, p. 41.

⁶ For the new view, see P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, pp. 9-14.

⁷ Vaidya, *Riddle of the Rāmāyana*, pp. 79-83.

of in the same breath as sacrificers and disturbers of sacrifices and as enemies and brothers of the Gods. The worship of the Sun an Aryan cult is found among the *Oraons* an admittedly un Aryan people. Burial mounds were erected by the *Vratyas* of Magadha entry into which was taboo for the Aryan for long as they were done by the Aryans, the only difference being the former were round while the latter were square! Scholars see in the Vedic *Skambha* and *Vastava*¹ the worship of the Phallus which is neolithic in age and so pre Vedic. The Vedas equate Rudra and Agni as the later *Linga Purāna* does which is the source for the *Ītāra* hymns for explaining the origin of the *Linga*. There are sufficient reasons to believe that the Aryans and the un Aryans had the same view of creation. 'Personified as the God of Heaven, Dyaus (bright) is generally coupled with Prithvi (earth) the pair being regarded as the universal parents. In their marriage the sky God Dyaus is the divine father and the earth Goddess is the divine mother. In a Rigvedic hymn Father Heaven and Mother Earth are invoked both linked in the compound *Dyauprithivi* the two regarded as parents of men and Gods. In a few passages, Dyaus is spoken of as a bull referring to its generative power, the bull implicitly likened to the rain of Heaven falling on and fertilizing the barren earth.' The *Oraons*² a Dravidian tribe celebrate every year the marriage of the Earth Goddess to the Sun God in order to ensure the fertility of the ground. So the *Linga* and the *Yoni* standing for the universal father and mother have sanction in Aryan as well as un Aryan customs. Again to those who have read about *Purushamedha* (human sacrifice) and certain other absurd *Yajnas* the un Vedic human sacrifices in the Agency tracts till recently are not so revolting. We have to look at ancient Indian History as an evolution from the lower to the higher, the less to the more refined in which the Aryan *rishis* and Buddha played a conspicuous part as reformers. At the same time, one cannot fail to notice that the lower, may be in a totally different form, persists in the higher and that the lower exists side by side with the higher. That is the inexorable law of evolution.

The differences between the Aryan and the un Aryan cults may be put in a nut shell thus. The Dasyu Gods were *Sisnadēvas* (Phalli). The Dasys were riteless (had no *Yajnas*). They kept alien rites (devil dances and orgies). They were prayerless (sang no hymns to God). They were priestless and had dealings direct with God. They did not keep sacred fires (so the *Linga* is not a pillar of fire). They worshipped mad Gods (again a reference to the devil dances and horrible ornaments of *Siva*, *Kali* etc³).

SECTION B WERE THE NAGAS UN ĀRYAN?

Was the cult of the Nagas un Aryan? It is difficult to answer. At a particular period they are in different stages of progress

¹ T. A. Gopinatha Rao *Hindu Iconography* ii i 55-57. Also Muir *ante* vol. iv pp. 13-20 and vol. v p. 384.

² Frazer *Worship of Nature* pp. 22-23, 631.

³ *Ibid*.

⁴ Muir *Orig. Skt. Texts* vol. iv p. 410. Griswold *Religion of the Rig Veda* p. 38. Elmore *Dravidian Gods in Modern Hinduism* p. 3.

Manimēkalai, the Tamil epic, speaks of the naked and cannibalistic Nagas of the Nicobars and in the same breath of the apparently-civilized Valaivanan, king of Manipallavam, an important commercial island. Buddhist books speak of the Nāgas as inferior till the latter embrace the new faith. Brahman books denounce the Nagas as Asuras and at the same time praise them as semi-divine according as they respect their religion or not.

Oldham's View examined

So, Oldham's view that the Nāgas were a *Sun-worshipping, Sanskrit-speaking* people of the *Nāga totem* is not entirely true. The learned writer adds that they were stigmatized as Asuras as they did not readily admit the ascendancy of the Brahmans. Hiralal also is of a similar opinion as otherwise he cannot understand if Āryans ever proud of their blood would have married Nagas.

But, it has been pointed out already that the Nagas were an ancient people, so ancient that impenetrable myths had grown over them. They were located beyond the limits of human habitation, Āryāvarta, somewhere in the nether regions in the south with the Daityas and Rākshasas. Curiously enough, the *Rāmāyana* speaks of Rākshasas in Ceylon, while the *Mahāwamsa* inhabits the island with the Nagas and Yakshas equating to some extent the Rākshasas and the Nagas. Besides, there were different grades of culture among the Nagas.

At a certain stage the Nagas were Phallic worshippers. The Phallus came to be the symbol of Siva and Siva worship was attended with drinking and other orgiastic rites as can be seen even now among a certain section of Saivites. Bacchus was the name for Siva given by the Greek writers. The Nagas were votaries of *Sura* (drink) or Bacchus rather than of *Sūrya* (Sun). Even as late as the seventh century, Hiuen Tsang¹ wrote that *Simhala* (Ceylon) was formerly addicted to immoral religious worship, probably meaning *Linga* and *Sakti* worship. *Uttarakāṇḍa* in *Rāmāyana* tells us that Rāvana the Rākshasa king of Ceylon always carried with him a golden *Linga* but at the same time fought with Sankara in Kailasa! There is a story in *Rājatarangīni* that in Siva's marriage, Siva made a *Linga* and worshipped² it! Thus the *Linga* is spoken of separately from Siva. In fact, the Naga mark (*Nāgalatha*) was the *Linga*. So, the Nāgas carried the serpent as well as the *Linga* as their emblem. If the *ten-headed* Rāvana (this was how a great Naga emperor was represented in art?) bore a *Linga*, his son carried a golden serpent for his banner.³ The historical Nagas as in the Chinab valley to-day worship the Naga, while the Bhara Sivas of the fourth century A.D. carried a *Linga*! Thus, we do not read either in history or mythology that the Nagas worshipped the Sun though it is likely that the good Nagas of Brahmanical lore adopted the Āryan cult and rites.

Similar is the misconception about the language of the Nagas. Just as there is verbal similarity between *ṇāyiru* (Tam. Sun) and

¹ Beal, *ante*, vol. ii, p. 246. Nāga also means Sun.

² I. iii, pp. 443-7.

³ Muir, *ante*, vol. iv, p. 411.

Nayar or Nāga, so there is resemblance between Naga and *Nāgarī*. It is more than doubtful if any people in India spoke Sanskrit at any time and if it was not merely a literary and religious vehicle. At any rate, we have no evidence if the Nāgas of Ceylon and other islands, the Nagas of Malabar, the Nāgas of Mālānga and Majerika and the Nagas of Bhogavatī spoke Sanskrit from the pre-Vēdic age whence they seem to have existed in those places as far as we can say at present, or languages akin to those that are now the mother tongues in those parts. There is no doubt, however, that some Nagas distinguished themselves as Sanskrit scholars as some took to Aryan religion.

If we bear in mind this difference among the Nagas in culture, if we remember also that some of the Nāga princesses were proverbially accomplished beauties and carried with them kingdoms to their husbands, we need not pause for an answer to the question why Jaratkāru's father or Arjuna or Kusa married a Naga.

It is with great hesitation that we venture to differ from such sound writers as Oldham and Hiralal, but we contend that sufficient reasons have been shown in the course of this book to re-examine their views. If we succeed in identifying the *Veddahs*¹, the *Mararas*, the *Kallar*, the *Parathavar* and the *Kurumbar* with the Nagas, if the *Bhils*, the *Nishadas* and the *Kirātas* are proved to be Nagas, then no doubt need be entertained as to the Āryan or un-Āryan Vedic or un-Vedic culture of the Nagas.

SECTION C SNAKE, SPIRIT AND SAKTI WORSHIP

We are firmly convinced that Indian society was in the totemistic and matriarchal stage in the dim dawn of history and has gradually evolved towards the pastoral-agricultural and patriarchal stage that is well-developed in the Vedic age. There are still traces of totemistic divisions, loose marital ties and even polyandrous habits among the primitive inhabitants of India.²

The Serpent-cult

To the Nagas, their emblem the snake was sacred. They believed in the snake as their protector or God. They believed that they were descended from it. So the snake combined for them the ancestor, the king and God. It is difficult to explain the feeling underlying this well-nigh universal primitive cult. Takshaka, Kārkota, Vāsuki and others were to the Indian Nāgas their ancestors, kings and Gods and represented later on as human beings with Nāga hoods. Even otherwise, snakes were sculptured later on to represent sexual love and the principle of procreation. The trees which sheltered the snakes came to command some reverence on that account.

¹ Vētas ? Does Ptolemy's *Bafoi* refer to vētas ?

² For political evolution of states see Jenks, *History of Politics*, for totemism and polyandry in India see Risley, *Peoples of India*, pp 95-109, 207-212, Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*.

Its History

The Serpent cult is mentioned in the Buddhist Niddēsa,¹ *Mahāvastu*² and *Chamcphyi Jātaka*.³ The last work and the *Rāmāyana*⁴ speak of it in connection with the getting of children. The Greek writers who accompanied Alexander (327 B.C.) note that serpents were kept at Taxila for worship as ancestral symbols. The votive offerings to them were iron tridents and serpent models.⁵ Plenty of Nāga figures have been found at Bārhāt, Sānchi, Amarāvati, Mathura and Ajanta. Some of them are representations of Nāga men and women⁶ while others are figures of the Nāgarājas, objects of worship. In some of the Amarāvati and Sānchi sculptures, the five-hooded cobra occupies the place of the Buddha and devotees are carved by its side.⁷ Thus the snake cult had passed into Buddhism.

Traces To-day

According to *Rājatarangini*, the Nagas figure prominently in the early history of Kashmir. They are eminently popular deities, a long account of whom is given in *Nilamata Purāna*. Between the Chināb and the Ravi the original home of the Kathes or the Takhis and in the adjoining countries of Uraga and Abisara there was serpent worship in the fourth century B.C. Even to-day, in that region, Nāga demigods are worshipped as the deified rulers and ancestors of an ancient people whose emblem was the Naga. The temples under the sacred Devadāru tree are not to snakes but to Nāgarājas who are sculptured with many hoods.⁸

The cult has entered Hinduism, and *Nāga panchami*, *Naga chaturthi*, *Nāga sānti* and *Asvathapradakshina*, ceremonies connected with the Nāga and the obtaining of children are popular and universal. In Guzerat there are plenty of Nāga shrines.⁹ In South India, snake-stones some of them very big representing the *Linga* coiled by snakes are a familiar feature at the foot of the *Asvatha* tree in almost every village.

The Sakti Cult

The primitive people everywhere were animists. They believed in the existence of Spirits, mostly evil, as the feeling actuating the ancients was fear. This cult of fear has still survived in the villages. Most of these spirits were female as the organization of the society

¹ Krishna Sastri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, p. 248n.

² Vogel, *ante*, ch. v.

³ *Ibid.*, ch. iii.

⁴ Trans., p. 266.

⁵ Oldfield Howey, *ante*.

⁶ Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship* and Fergusson and Burgess, *Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayapeta*, see also *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xvii, p. 11. For Naga worship, see p. 149, *Arch. Surv. of India*, Rep. 1924-5. For the cult at Mathura see p. 159, *Arch. Surv. of India*, Rep. 1908-9.

⁷ See the collection in the Madras Museum. For the cult on Andhra coins see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, p. 276.

⁸ Oldham, *ante*, p. 113.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. iv p. 5, 197. For the cult in S. India see *M.A.R.*, 1914-15, p. 34.

was then matriarchal. That is why with very few exceptions, the village deities of India are Goddesses.¹ 'Most Saiva Goddesses were fearful, fond of flesh and blood and wine and connected with devils, goblins and diseases. Tārūtā was the Goddess of the Kirāṭas, Vindhyaśāsinī and Āpyā or Durgā of the Sabaras, Pulindas and Barbaras.'² The Spirits or Goddesses usually resided under trees or in groves as men had no better habitation in the earliest times. Sometime later, they were represented by pieces of wood or stone and sheltered under the shade of trees. A survival of this stage also can be seen to-day. The presiding deity was Kālī (lit. black) delighting in blood and ornamented with skulls and snakes. She was called *kōṭṭāṭi* (Queen) in Tamil. Buffaloes so sacred to the Todas to-day and images of which are found in the Ādichanallur tombs,³ were the only victims that could propitiate Kālī. The Goddesses of Madura, Kanchi and Orriyur did havoc among human beings till Śankara could bind them down. So the village goddesses would create trouble unless bloody offerings are offered at least once a year.

SECTION D THE PHALLIC CULT

The Phallic cult could not have flourished in the matriarchal stage when the *Sakti* cult was dominant. The former imposed itself on the latter with the suppression of the female and the evolution of patriarchal life. It was closely connected with Ancestor-worship and the Snake cult.

The Cult Neolithic

Among the Neolithic remains in the Deccan brought to light by Bruce Foote,⁴ Phalli are mentioned as one. Besides the Phalli of the usual kind he has noticed Neolithic earthenware Phalli. On the Shevaroy hills, he discovered a Phallus, a small object of pale green. In Baroda, he found a sacred bull with a garland round his hump. The ringstones also that were found by Bruce Foote were probably objects of worship.

The Mohenjo Daro finds assigned to about 3000 B.C. include brick temples and *ringstones* and *chessmen* probably objects of worship. Seals with the figures of a bull and a pipal tree have also been picked up there.

Thus, at a very early period the Phallic cult must have originated. The Snake-cult was closely affiliated to it, nay, was at the root of it. The *Sakti* cult characteristic of the first and matriarchal stage came to be mixed with it. It is very likely that the Snake cult was the

¹ Krishna Sastri *ante* pp. 223-229. Muir *ante* vol. iv p. 433.

² *Ibid.* ³ *M. A. R.* 1900 August 16 p. 3.

⁴ *Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities* by B. Foote (Catalogue Raisonné).

P	Dt	No	
9 42	Salem	172b 444 8	Phallus
98 103 195	Bellary	1521 1542 1548, 3043	1 Bull 3 Lingas
196	Baroda	3044b 3055c	Phallus
196	Do	3049	Bull's head

cult first of the Nāgas in India, and these ancient and widespread people must have had, at any rate, a large share in the evolution of the other equally ancient and interwoven cults. Just as the *Sakti* is the stand of the *Linga*, so the snake is the protector and ornament of the latter coiling round it. The principle of creation these two symbolize, *Prakṛiti* and *Puruṣa* the universal Mother and Father.

One of the important instincts of human beings is reproduction by which the family and race are perpetuated. The father was held in great respect in the patriarchal state. So to the mother cult of the previous stage the father-cult was added. The mother and father are the first Gods, sang *Avvai*. What is more natural than to worship the father the creator of the family even after death, invoke his blessings for further perpetuation of the family and make offerings to his spirit on festive and ceremonial occasions. The Phallus represented the perpetuation of the family and race and came to symbolize the ancestor.

The Phallus stood for Creation on Destruction

We do not know when the Phallus came to be placed on the *Samādhis* and we have no evidence to show if it was placed on the *Chaityas* of all the dead.¹ According to the *Satapatha Brahmana*, circular mounds (resembling the Phallus) were erected over the remains of the dead by the *Asuras* and these *stupas* were objects of worship. The principal dead might have been honoured with bigger *stupas*. In course of time, it is likely that the Phallus was placed over the buried remains instead of a *stupa*. In the long run, the Phallus was extended to represent the principle of the creation of the universe. So creation stood over destruction!

Even now the *Linga* is placed over the *Samādhis* of the Saiva *Sanyāsīs* and the Lingayat tombs. It must be noted here that phallic worship was the primitive form of Siva worship and un-Brahminical and un-Vedic in origin with its roots in the Neolithic times, as otherwise, the cry of the pure or *Vīra Saivas* in the twelfth century to return to the pure Saiva worship i.e., the worship of the Phallus without the later cobwebs of image, *Karma*, etc., would be utterly meaningless. The Buddhist burial mound or *stupa* had the shape of the Phallus as it was only a continuation of the old custom. So it was that Siva was sung as the head of other religions also. Considering the age and the principle of the Phallus, one can easily understand the *Tēvāra* hymns repeating that Siva was ancient and was destroyer, creator, protector and giver of grace, the last three being always associated with the ancestor. The Phallus on the burial ground its earliest abode came to be separately located in course of time under trees and in temples without any relation to it, just as the innumerable *stupas* votive and other had no relic of Buddha in them but were still objects of worship. Is it not obvious, now that we have understood the true origin of the *Linga* from ancestor worship, why our women go round and round the *Asvatha* tree which shelters the stones with serpents coiling round *Lingas*?

¹ *M.E.R.*, 1914, p. 107.

The particular fondness of Siva and Kālī for snakes is significant. No doubt the snake cult has entered all religions but to none it is so closely related as to that of *Nagabāshana* and that too is not without reasons. It was a cult evolved by the Nagas whereas others were adopted by them.

Kumāra, the son of Siva, has close associations with the snake. The Siva *Linga* is connected with the snake hole. In some of the oldest temples at Orīyūr and Melkōte the original object of worship is an ant-hill. Vanmikanāthar (lord of the ant-hill) is the oldest God at Tiruvārūr. Near Naganāthar at Negapattam there is an ant hill.¹ A Chola found a *Linga* in an ant hill at the shrine of Tirupparturāi.² Probably the earth-*linga* of Kānchi an old temple, is also an ant-hill. There is a vague belief that there is a *Linga* inside an ant-hill in which snakes generally dwell. Because every mountain looks conical like an ant-hill, it is sacred.³ Thus there is an inseparable connection between the *Linga* and the snake which is not the case with regard to any other than the Phallic cult.

The Serpent and Phallic Cults

No other cult has so much to do with procreation and creation. Here again, the snake plays its part and connects itself with the ancestor whose symbol is the Phallus. But for such connection, how can we explain the beliefs that the Nagarajas i.e., the Nāgaprajapatis or ancestors confer children on the childless, that the *Samādhis* of the dead are guarded by five-hooded *Sarpas* (similar to the Buddhist representation), that the Cobra stands for the ancestor (or *Garuda*) and that the dead are converted into snakes and the dead live in *Pitrloka* somewhere in *Patāla*. Some of these beliefs are not only crude but universal even outside India.

SECTION D SIVA THE LORD OF THE DEMONS

The *Linga* the symbol of the ancestor has come to represent the ancestor of all, God. How did it acquire the anthropomorphic form and attributes? Tamil language has a pure Tamil word for God (*Kaḍavul*) transcendent, and has no word for image. So the Phallus which is formless was probably the God of the people who spoke Tamil.

Some attributes of Siva and Muruga

If we analyse the attributes of Siva and Muruga, they are mostly Himālayan. Siva is pictured as living in Kailāsa attended by the Himālayan Ganas, Yakshas, Gāndarvas, etc. He bears the Ganga and marries the daughter of the Himālayas. His color is golden. He rides on the bull and has a liking for bull sacrifice unlike *Sakti* delighting in buffalo blood. His weapons like the battle axe so

¹ Vogel, *ante*, ch. vii, p. 273

² *M. A. R.* 1903-4, p. 82

³ Also because Siva's favourite abode is the hill. Cf. *Tev. vi* p. 3 காவேரி
புறம்புலம் காவேரி காவேரி

essential to mountaineers point again to his original habitat. Muruga also is a mountain God. He is born in Saravana in the Himālayas. He is equally fond of bull sacrifice. He commands the *celestials* against the *Asuras*. The progress of Siva and Muruga is first marked by the destruction of *Asuras* like Tripurāsura, Andhaka, Jalandhra, Tāraka and Sūrapadma of Ceylon. Besides, the *Linga* at Gudimallam, a very ancient one 200 B.C., has the figure of Siva carved on it with Mongolian features. The *Linga* is exactly like the male organ and the image carries a battle-axe, a deer and a water-pot. The image has plaited hair and no holy thread.¹

Did the Yakshas have anything to do with the origin of Siva? They are a Himālayan people who in remote antiquity spread as far as Ceylon and by sheer might imposed themselves on the sub-Himālayan peoples as Gods.² In legend and history we meet with the Yakshas and the Yaksha-cult,

The Yakshas in Legend and History

The *Rāmāyana*³ and the *Mahawamsa*⁴ people Ceylon with Yakshas. Rāvana drove away his half-brother Kubēra, chief of the Yakshas and occupied Ceylon. The latter took refuge with his followers in Kailāsa. The epic mentions Yakshas opposite to Ceylon on the mainland probably a section of those who fled from the island. The *Jātakas* speak of the Yakshas here and there. They lived on the Himālaya,⁵ had Kubēra as their chief⁶ and sometimes married among human beings (i.e. Āryans, Nāgas, etc).⁷ They were flesh eaters and cannibals.⁸ They were initiated into vegetarian diet by Buddha.⁹ In one place they are equated with the Rākshasas.¹⁰ Bloody offerings were a chief feature in Yaksha cult.¹¹

Yakshas are mentioned in the Brāhmi inscriptions in Pāndya (200 B.C.). Early Malabar and Travancore inscriptions mention many petty rulers with Yaksha names. The Nāsik cave and Sanchi inscriptions contain many Yaksha names.¹²

The Yaksha cult was popular among the Sākyas. Yaksha figures have been discovered at Pātaliputra¹³ and Sānchi where they were objects of worship. Early Tamil literature mentions Yakshas as being worshipped by the Āyar (shepherds) whose favorite deities were Krishna (Karuppan) and Bāladēva (Vellaiyan an *avatar* of Sesha).¹⁴ Two Yakshas with clubs guard every Siva sanctum even to-day.

Kanakasabai Pillai suggested a Himālayan origin to the Tamils on certain plausible grounds. We are not concerned with that

¹ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, vol. ii, pt. i, pp. 65-71.

² My learned friend Mr. Prabhākara Sastri, sees Yakshas in the Telugu *Jakkulu*.

³ *Uttara*.

⁴ iii, 298, *Yakkan*—North (Tam.)

⁵ iii, 201.

⁶ Geiger, *ante*, ch. vii.

⁷ *Ibid*.

⁸ iii, 96-97.

⁹ iii, 96.

¹⁰ iii, 96, 132.

¹¹ *Ibid*.

¹² *Proc. of the Third Oriental Conference*, 1924, pp. 287-300 Article by K. V. Subramania Iyer.

¹³ *Modern Review*, Oct. 1919

¹⁴ Kanakasabai, *ante*, p. 57; Krishna, Kāli, Kāliyan, Karuppan are all black.

question at present but only with the trans Himālayan influence on the sub-Himālayan religion

Siva, a Trans Himalayan God

On the coins of the Kushanas,¹ Devaputras or celestial and a trans-Himalayan people, Siva and Nandi are found but not the Phallus. The various foreign peoples who came to India from almost the same region, e.g. the Huns and the Sakas and the Pallavas who were in long and intimate contact with the latter were worshippers of Siva. Mihirakula's coins bear the bull and the trident.² The Pallavas had the Naga ensign and the bull standard.

The Scythian races, says Cunningham, had a partiality for Heracles, for they identified him with their own God of the dead. On the coins of the Indo Scythian Sakas,³ we have the name Sapalizes (cf. Savara) on one side and Nanaia on the other. The coins of Maues, Azes and Azilises show their marked devotion to the worship of the club hero Sapal. Maues calls himself Devaputra like the Kushāns.⁴

Well, what are the conclusions that we draw from the above particulars? The Phallus represented creation essentially, while Rudra of the Vēdas stood for destruction. In the evolution of the Phallus into Rudra Siva with certain attributes, the Yaksha or trans Himālayan influence is traceable.

Siva un-Āryan and un-Vedic

The story of the destruction of Daksha's sacrifice illustrates the un-Āryan nature of Siva, who like the Rakshasas, seems at first inimical to Brahmanical sacrifices. Till then, no portion of the offering used to be given to Siva.⁵ Mahadeva's worship was performed without Brahmans, says the Vayu.⁶ Siva was the abolisher of rites and demolisher of barriers, says the *Bhāgavata*.⁷ Bhrigu said, 'Let those who practise the rites of Siva be opponents of true scriptures. In the initiation of Siva, liquor is the deity. Since you revile the Vēdas and Brahmans, you have embraced heresy. Your God is the king of Goblins.'⁸ R. P. Chanda in his *Indo-Aryan Races* quotes *Kurma Purana* and *Kumārila* to prove the un-Āryan and un-Vedic origin of worship. If we inquire into the historical and rational origin of the Phallus and its significance, setting at naught its supposed origin and later refinement and philosophic and Puranic explanations as not concerning the inquirer, we cannot but arrive at the above conclusions.

¹ Coins of the Kushāns, reprinted from the *Num. Chronicle*, vol. xii, Rapson's Coins, pl. n, Nos. 11, 12.

² Rapson's Coins, pl. iv, Nos. 20, 21.

³ Coins of the Indo Scythians, reprinted from the *Num. Chronicle*, ix pp. 80-82.

⁴ Coins of the Sakas, reprinted from the *Num. Chronicle*, vol. x, pp. 4-6, Muir, *anté*, iv, p. 374.

⁵ Muir, *anté*, iv, p. 374.

⁷ *Ibid*.

⁶ *Ibid*.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 382.

CHAPTER III. THE MEANING OF THE LINGA AND A REINQUIRY INTO ITS ORIGIN

Linga a Formless Symbol

Linga means symbol in Sanskrit. It is the symbol of God. But, why should it have such a shape? It is answered philosophically that the shape of the *Linga* is formless, and so like *Sāligrāma* is a perfect form of the formless Brahman.¹ The Primitive people set up a stone as God and worshipped it, as people still do so to represent the dead during the first ten days of the funeral ceremonies. It does not require skilful workmanship. In course of time, it attained the present shape. The pedestal was for fixing the stone in position. But this simple explanation does not lead us anywhere as to the origin of the wellnigh universal Primitive cult² of *Phallism* and *Sakti*.

Linga is Fire

The story of the *Linga Purāna* is that the *Linga* represents the pillar of fire the ends of which could not be found by Brahma and Vishnu. What better shape could be given to the flame? Rudra is equated with Agni in the Veda and thus Siva is derived from the Tamil word for 'red'. The pedestal is the *Agni-kundam*. So Siva worship was the old fire worship so common to the Indo-Āryans of scholars. Then, the Neolithic and pre-Vedic Phallus belonged to the Āryan fire-cult! The *Sisnadeva* (Phallus) of the *fireless* and *riteless* Dasyu stood for *fire*! Then, why should the *Sisnadevas* be condemned? why should the pillar of fire be associated with creative energy? why should it have its peculiar shape as at Gudimallam, Kalattur and Kudimiyamalai? These are all later, refined and Brahmanical concoctions to cover its crude origin.

The Secret

There is no shape or form without Uma, sang Appar³ and so the Ardhanārī form to God. Upamanyu says, 'We have not heard that the *Linga* of any other person is worshipped by the Gods. He whose *Linga* Brahma, Vishnu and Indra worship is the most eminent. Since children bear neither the mark of Brahma or Vishnu, know everything that is male is *Īsāna* and all that is female to be Uma.'⁴

The generative meaning of *Linga* is dealt with in the *Saiva Purānas*. The *Skanda* says, the sky is the shaft and the earth the pedestal; and the whole creation finds its origin and rest there. The *Linga* denotes the primeval energy of the creator, says *Saura Samhita*, *Sivarahasya*.⁵ There is nothing obscene about it to-day.

¹ Krishna Sastri, *ante*, p. 72.

² Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, *Phallism*.

³ *Tev.*, iv, p. 51, Ayyāru.

⁴ Muir, *ante*, vol. iv, pp. 189, 405.

⁵ Krishna Sastri, *ante*, pp. 72-73n.

The Buddhist Stupa is later

To one who has grasped the *Sisarahasya*, the Buddhist origin of the *Linga* comes as an amusing explanation. No doubt the Buddhist *Stupa* is as old as the fifth century B.C. It is of the shape of the *Linga* and to-day two such *Stupas* at Guntapalli and Sankaram are worshipped by the people who have mistaken them for *Lingas*.¹ The *Stupas* in the Amarāvati and Jaggayyapeta sculptures seen in the Madras Museum will be easily mistaken by anybody for *Lingas*. Some of the *Stupas* were sculptured with two eyes,² one on either side. Mahayāna sanctioned *pūja*, incense, etc. to them. Car-festivals for the *Utsava* (image) and not for the *Mula Vīgraha* (*Stupa*) are noted by Fa Hian.

Saivism Pre-Buddhist

There were *chaityas*, and round *chaityas* too, erected over the remains of the dead, especially the great dead before the age of Buddha.³ According to Bruce Foote, the Phallus was Neolithic. Rudra appears in the *Rig Veda* and Siva worship can be traced from the *Yajur Veda* downwards. The great Epic, the contents of which are very old, contains innumerable proofs of Saiva worship in its barbarous and civilized phases. According to tradition confirmed by archaeology, Buddha was first a Saiva. One of the earliest works quotes Buddha as saying 'so long as the Vajjians honor their shrines with due rites, so long they shall prosper.'⁴ There were many *chaityas* in Buddha's days, named after trees. Some say that Yakshas (demons) were worshipped in them.⁵ Siva the lord of the Yakshas and other *Ganas* and the Sakya God was therefore pre-Buddhist. *Brahmajala Sutta* as old as the second council if not older mentions *Siva Vigga* which, according to some, refers to the Saiva cult. *Bikkufachittiya*⁶ ii. 1 speaks of a Brahman's ox as big as *Nandi*. The earliest Buddhist remains at Sanchi⁷ bear traces of Snake, Siva and Vishnu cults (third century B.C.). So, the supposed Buddhist origin of the *Linga* only confirms our inference that *Linga* worship had at its origin intimate relationship with the crematorium.

So we may arrive at the following conclusions. The *Linga* was pre-Buddhist. In course of time the cult came to be refined. At its origin, it had intimate relation with the Ancestor, i.e. with death and birth. In the former capacity of Lord of death, Siva wears skulls and bones and ashes; as Lord of creation, he sports and is ever-auspicious.

Siva and Death

There is a widespread belief that the South Indian temples were built on the *Samadhis* of very holy men. The *Nattukkottai*

¹ *M.A.R.*, 1889, Aug. 2, p. 1; 1907-8, p. 2; 1908-9, p. 1.

² *Ibid.*, 1915-16, p. 30.

³ Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, Introd., p. 10; also the *Salapatha Brahmana*. For the origin of the *Chaitya*, see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi, p. 20.

⁴ B. C. Law, *Kshatriya Clans in Buddhist India*, pp. 76-81.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 96. *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*. Ed. by Max Muller, vol. ii, p. 18.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 96.

Chettis, while repairing old temples, have struck upon bones and ashes beneath the *Linga*.¹ At Peddakanchērla² in Vinukonda Taluk, an interesting discovery is recorded, where under the *Linga* found in a Buddhist *chaitya* were bones and ashes and broken sepulchral urns and charcoal. In Kāmapalli,³ Guntur District, there is an outline of a *Linga* and a bull in a tumulus. At Rāyadrug,⁴ Bellary District, a very primitive *Linga* has been found with the remains of a few ruined tombs. Some of the Śiva temples in Southern India go by the name of *Mayānam* (Skt. *Smasānam*) like Kadaiyur, Nālur, etc., which are much older than the seventh century A.D. There are other temples ending with *palli* (Tam. village) which literally means sleep. When we look into the meaning of *palli* as used by Buddhists, Jains and Muhammadans, we are tempted to look for the tombs of some great men in some of the Hindu *pallis*!

We have plenty of later evidence for the building of Śiva temples over the great dead, kings and sages, the temporal and spiritual rulers of the people. Rājāditya Ganga⁵ built a Śiva temple on the spot where his father was buried in Solapuram (ninth century). Another Śiva temple was built at Thondamānād over or near the burial ground of Aditya I, Chola.⁶ At Mēlpādi, the Cholēsvara temple was built as a *pallippadai* for the Lord who died at Ārrūr.

This is the true origin of the Śiva temple. It might be that there was a later revulsion of feeling against building over the dead. But still building over the dead persists. And the *Linga* that is placed in the other class of temples is like the relicless Buddhist votive *stupa*, but nevertheless neither its origin nor its significance can be obscured by Brahmanical injunction or *Puranic* mythology.

PART II.—BUDDHIST AND JAINA REMAINS IN TAMIL NADU

CHAPTER I. TAMIL LITERATURE OF THE 'SANGHAM AGE'

Tamil literature, the oldest of the Dravidian literatures, contains innumerable references to Buddhism and Jainism and owes a good deal to their encouragement. It is not my present task to deal in detail with either, though a brief survey of early Tamil literature is necessary to understand the popularity of these two religions and the existence of others at a time from which we have very little archæological and epigraphical material. My main business will be to present the archæological remains of a later period and establish beyond a shadow of doubt that the first two *Tēvāra* hymnners (seventh century A.D.) sang only about what they saw, namely, the wide prevalence of Buddhism and Jainism which they denounced and suppressed.

¹ *M.A.R.*, 1915-16, p. 34.

² *Ibid.*, 1889, April 3), p. 12.

³ *Ibid.*, 1915-16, p. 34.

⁴ *Ibid.*, cf. *Rājatarangini*, vol. ii, st. 134.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1894, July 10, p. 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1912-13, p. 42.

The Tolkappiyam

The *Tolkappiyam* (the old *kavyam*)¹ is the oldest piece of Tamil literature now existing.² The influence of Brahmanism is traceable in it but not that of Buddhism, which was in Pāndya in 200 B.C. according to the Brahmi inscriptions found there. It lays down the duties of Brahmans and allots Muruga, Kālī, Vishnu, Indra and Varuna, to the five parts of the Tamil land. The absence of the Phallus or Siva in the above list is surprising, though it is untenable to contend on that ground that the great God was unknown to the Tamils at that time. Probably, he was the supreme God, the God of all the five divisions of the country, the *Kadaṇṭ* of the Tamils, and therefore, finds no mention in the description of any of the five regions. The pillar or the Phallus³ was an object of worship among the Tamils of the age of Tolkāppiyar and stood for the Supreme.

The Two Epics

Silappadikāram and *Manimekalai* convey to us that Buddhism and Jainism were popular in their time though Brahmanism and the Primitive religion existed side by side. *The Epic of the Anklet*⁴ mentions in Puhār, the Chola capital, Buddhist *viḥāras*, Jain monasteries, Muruga, Siva and Vishnu fanes and also Bhūta squares. There was a *Nedunkal*, i.e. a tall stone (a Phallus?) which cured the insane, the poisoned and the possessed. The Purāṇic stories about Siva were current and popular in the age of the epic. The *Arūpi* (formless) referred to by it was also presumably the Phallus, the formless symbol of God.⁵

The *Jewel-bell*, the other epic, describes the Buddhists of even distant islands like Jāva. Its Buddhism was Hīnayāna. Kāंची and Vāंची were great Buddhist centres where all the religious systems could be learned. There is mention again of temples to all Gods and the sect of *Kapalikas* devoted to the terrible form of Siva.

Muruga Cult and Legends

There is an interesting piece on Muruga in the *Ten Idylls*, one of the 'Sangham Collections'.

This is an old one having been sung by Nakkirar, a prolific and admittedly ancient writer. This reveals an organized system of worship to the God Muruga, considered by some as purely Tamil, whose temples crown the tops of hills like Mailam, Palani, Subramaniam, etc., even to-day. The Muruga cult, an old one like the Saiva, had as great a hold over peoples' minds. He was everywhere, in the forest and grove, river and tank, the cross-road and the

¹ Obviously it was not the name of the book. It was so called by a generation that came long after it.

² For a brief account of Tamil religion as revealed in this ancient book, see C. S. Doraiswamy, *Tamil Ilakkiyam in Tamil* (Sangham age).

³ See C. S. Doraiswamy, *ante*, "ஓடு பத்துகோடுமிகு அருவாதிதரனே சிங்குத் தத்துவமடத்த பெருமாமெய் சாத்தியையும் வணங்கி வந்தவர்த்."

⁴ *Silappadikāram*, ch. v, Indra festival.

⁵ C. S. Doraiswamy, *ante*, "யரதவெற்பிறவாறவனெய் அருபியிகோமிக்."

Kadamba tree. Some rice was mixed with flowers and spread before Muruga. A fowl was cut and its blood mixed with it. Ghee was poured and mustard was strewn over it. Sometimes toddy and goats were offered. Then a *mantra* was muttered low and the devotee's four fingers were bent while the other one was pointed and then placed on his breast. Then flowers were strewn, incense was offered, hymns were sung and drums beaten. Somebody fell into a trance and on him came the spirit of Muruga.¹ Here you have much that entered into the later system of worship. Here you see the beginnings of worship by signs as opposed to that by hymns.

The Purānic stories about the birth of Muruga, his six faces and twelve hands, his parents riding on the bull, Siva the three-eyed who destroyed the three cities and lived under the banyan tree, and Parvati named *Palayol*² the destroyer of the Buffalo-demon,³ his exploits against Sura-padma,⁴ his marriage with a *Kurava* or hill girl—all these are dealt with in *Tirumurugārruppadi*. These show the ancientness of the legends that had gathered round the Himālayan Gods Muruga and Siva.

The Tamil's Love for their Land and Religion

The people of the Tamil land with their great attachment to their old religion and Gods were first loth to give them up and adopt new ones. No Asokan mission came to the Tamil land though Tissa of Ceylon seems to have sent a few preachers. There was no Tamil representative in the assembly of Duttagāmani Abhaya in the first century B.C. In the second century B.C. a number of Tamil invasions on Ceylon hostile to Buddhism are on record. Karikāla Chōla brought back the Buddha's bowl and other relics from Ceylon displaying great enmity to the religion of the Enlightened One.⁵ Early Tamil literature teems with references to the wars waged by the Tamils with the northerners to safeguard their political and religious freedom. Even the great Asoka did not venture beyond North Mysore thus leaving the Tamils in happy isolation to deeply cultivate their language and religion in such a way that they could not be effaced by the northern culture when it invaded them.⁶

¹ *Tirumurugārruppadi*, lines, 218-27.

² பழையேன்.

³ Mahishasura. The buffalo was sacred to the Southern guardian, Yama. Note the Todas' attachment to the animal and the excavation of buffalo-images at Adichanallur.

⁴ King of Ceylon in tradition.

⁵ S. K. Iyengar, *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*, p. 90.

⁶ Except in the two epics there are few references to the anti-Vedic religions in ancient Tamil literature known as 'Sangham literature'. For the age of the 'Sangham literature' see Kanakasabai, *ante*, and Dr. S. K. Iyengar, *Beginnings of South Indian History*. But scholars are not wanting who post-date a considerable quantity of the literature especially the romantic epics. Astronomers, Epigraphists and Sanskritists are for a later age for the epics. Among Dravidian scholars P. T. Srinivasa Iyenger and M. Raghava Iyengar are of the same opinion.

Tamilakam Source of Revival and Bhakti

So, the two new religions made headway in spite of many obstacles. Hemmed in by Buddhist Ceylon on one side and the Deccan which was Buddhist and Jain from the early times till the eleventh century A.D. on the other, the Tamil country also had to give way to the peaceful penetration of the two religions. But it was the first to overthrow the new religions. The seed for the revival was there and the necessary stimulus was given to it by the Saiva and Vaiṣṇava saints¹ some of whom are to be placed in the early centuries of the Christian era, if not in even earlier times. So it is the South which began the Hindu revival and gave it the impress of *Bhakti* which knew no caste or sex differences,² like the anti Vedic religions on whose ashes it thrived vigorously. So it is that the Purāṇas praise the South as the only fountain of *Bhakti* in *Kaliyuga*.³

Mahayāna's Origin

The Mahayāna form of Buddhism is said by historians to have grown as a result of the contact of the Hinayāna with the peoples outside India. Thus V. A. Smith wrote⁴ that 'the Mahayana must have been largely of foreign origin'. But it is a great mistake. The Buddha began his reform on the two existing religions by laying down a moral code and ignoring God. But soon his creed had to succumb to the popular religion of the worship of ancestors and Gods. Nāgārjuna, a Deccani, was one of the founders of the Mahayāna. According to tradition⁵ he went to *Nagāloka* to learn all the *sūtras* which could not be had on earth at that time. He learned them, returned to his country and converted a southern king and ten thousand Brahmans to Buddhism. Thus one important school of Mahayāna originated and spread in Southern India before it travelled north.⁶

So the old worship and rituals of the people, purified by Āryan influences and deprived of their bloodiness by Buddhism and Jainism, invaded the austere Hinayāna and changed it. Thus was evoked the Mahayāna with temples, images, incense and festivals. And Buddhism the austere and monastic system which it was at its origin ceased to be so to the people, though as a school of thought and inquiry it gained in consequence.

¹ For the Vaiṣṇava saints, see T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *The Alvars* (Madras Univ.) and S. K. Jeyar, *Vaiṣṇavism in South India*.

For the Śaiva saints, see K. Srinivasa Pillai, *Tamil Varalāru* part II (in Tamil) and my paper on 'The Age of Nayanars' in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras vol. I.

² Cf. the freedom enjoyed by women in the Buddhist age to give in charity and become nuns, and the privilege of donating to the shrines extended, e.g. to a *chāmār* in Amrāvati.

³ Sekkilar says 'செக்கலர் இவ்வகைப் பதங்களைச் சொல்லுகிறார்'.

⁴ *Early History* (1924 ed.) p. 282.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. IV, p. 141.

⁶ According to another version Mahayāna is to be traced to the time of Chandragupta Maurya when a book was written on it. In the age of Kaṇishka, there were various texts on the subject but they were obtained mainly from the Nagas. See Wallace, *Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese Sources*.

CHAPTER II.—THE PROPAGANDA OF SAMBANDHAR

Appar and Sambandhar have sung that Buddhism and Jainism prevailed everywhere in the Tamil country. As Sambandhar denounces them in almost every hymn, we have to infer that the religions were very popular. But for corroborative evidence that there were *Jains* in or near every Saiva *kshetra* of his day, we would brush aside his repetitions as a matter of routine. At the same time, the existence of the Saiva temples and many Saiva devotees to welcome the saint wherever he went show plainly that Saiva worship was fully alive during the heyday of its rivals.

Sambandhar's Propaganda

The main achievements of Sambandhar and Appar are their triumphs over Jainism which had the largest following in Tondai and Pāndya Kingdom at that time. The propaganda of Sambandhar was a very vigorous one. The reception accorded to the two saints in their pilgrimages was royal in character. 'Do not listen to the Buddhists and Jains who condemn Siva who does not care for them. What do the Buddhists and Jains know? Before falling into their nets go and worship Siva. Be not misled by the sweet words of the tactful Jains. Their preaching and disputation are no good'—this is the strain of his propaganda and pages may be filled with quotations bearing on this theme.¹

Sambandhar's Mission—Result Persecution

The mission of Sambandhar was to revive Vedism and Saivism.² He was resolved to put down Buddhism and Jainism. To revive the sacrifices hated by them, to restore the prosperity of the Gods, Brahmans and cows' land to re-establish the Saiva religion in all its glory—these were his cherished objects. He considered Saivism as the essence of the Vedas.³ He refers to Siva's triumphs over the Buddhists and Jains which, if properly understood, mean that there was religious persecution.⁴ The *Periāpurāna* speaks of the

¹ *Tēv.*, i. 25, கிளியுழை ; i. 34, செம்பெருமான் ; i. 37, புதை ; i. 70, குறுகுதல் ; i. 88, ஆண்டவன் ; ii. 50, சம்பகரன் ; iii. 34, சரண்புர ; iii. 37, உயரடி ; iii. 82, செங்கிசர்க்கரன். The tenth stanza of Sambandhar's hymns contains his imprecations against the Jains and Buddhists.

² *Tēv.*, ii. 58, ஆலவரம் ; ii. 67 ஆலவரம் ; iii. 136 ஆலவரம் ; Also *Periya.*, ii. 1, 14, 15, 171 and 241. The page references are to *Tēvāram Sthala Murai* (Choolai 1917) and *Periāpurānam* with உரை (1893).

³ *Tēv.*, iii. 67, வரங்கலா தலம்.

⁴ *Tēv.*, iii. 61, சமஸ்தியவயதிருப்பதிகம்.

⁵ *Tēv.*, iii. 121, இஞ்சம்பர்—தேவமணிதையு செப்பே, iii. 123 செல் வெண்ணெய்—சரக்கியச்சமன் கெடுத்தே ; iii. 125, விழிமலை—புத்தரேமணத்தே ; iii. 126, குறுகுதல்—சட்டமண்தேவர்க்கரப்பே ; iii. 144 ஆலவரம்—தேரேமணத்தே சம்பகரனே ; v. 107, ஆறையடவரி—ஆயிரஞ் சமனம் மயிவர்க்கினர். This is a reference to a different incident in the life of Appar but points to religious persecution equally well. Instances are not wanting of fanatical outbursts of kings like Mahendra and Kūn who built temples to Siva with the materials of destroyed Jain temples. The Chōla kings referred to in Appar's *Palayurai* (பலையுரை) miracle and *Thandi Purāna* took to persecution, expulsion of the Jains and destruction of Jain temples. The above lines from *Tēvāram* read with the *Purāna* of Sēkkilār will convince every one that the latter is not fanciful or fictitious.

impaling of 8,000 Jains from the eight hills of Pandya. The lines quoted below convey the same impression of a colossal tragedy. These hymns of Sambandhar are declared by himself to be sacred, and Sēkkilār calls them a part of the written or the Tamil Vēdas¹ and learning them by rote will give salvation.

CHAPTER III —BUDDHISM AND JAINISM FROM EPIGRAPHICAL, AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES

Epigraphy and Archaeology come to the support of our contention that before the age of Sambandhar, first Buddhism and then Jainism had obscured Brahmanism.

The Brahmi inscriptions

The earliest inscriptions that we have in the Tamil country are the Brahmi inscriptions of the third century B.C. K. V. Subramania Iyer has very ingeniously deciphered them in a paper read before the Oriental Conference held in 1924.² It is unnecessary to give a catalogue of all the places³ in Pandya which have beds cut in the rocks and inscriptions by their side. The nature of the remains which resemble those of Ceylon and a few words in the inscriptions themselves suggest their Buddhist origin. The inscriptions record the names of those who made the monasteries and caves and those who caused them to be made. They reveal the close relations between Ceylon and Pandya as a husbandman of Ceylon is mentioned in the Tiruparangunram inscription. At Kalugumalai, a stone excavation was made for a relic chamber at the instance of the glorious chief Sri Yaksha. At Arittapatti, Yakshasiti, the daughter of a citizen of Velladai caused a cave to be cut for the benefit of the Bhiksus Vēnadu (Travancore), Ettiyur (Ettiyāpuram), Madirai (Madura), Tittai (Tanjore District), Podinur (Coimbatore District) some of the places of the donors or architects, convey to us the impression that throughout the Tamil country there were a few Buddhists then, though there were more in Pandya due to its proximity to Ceylon. The image of Buddha found at Tenkarai is only one of many such excavated in Tiruchendur Taluk.⁴

Jainism in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries

Jainism became supreme in Pandya on the decline of Buddhism. According to *Periyapurāṇam*, Jainism increased in Pandya during the rule of Vaduga-karnātas who have been identified with the Kalabhras by Epigraphists. Murthi Nayanar gave the first blow to Jainism there by his resistance to the King. There is a hymn⁵ by Sambandhar who destroyed Jainism in Pandya, in which he refers with contempt to the Jain monks of Anaumalai and the neighbouring hills. Sandusēna, Indusēna, Dharmasēna, Kandusēna, Kanaka-

¹ *Periya*, i 667, ii 56 and 85.

² *Proceedings*, p. 275.

³ Information is scattered in *M. A. R.*, 1913-14 p. 6, 1915, p. 86, etc., and *M. E. R.* 1907, p. 60, 1910, pp. 76-80, 1912, p. 57, etc.

⁴ *M. A. R.*, 1916-17, p. 1, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. iv, p. 272.

⁵ iii, 50, ஆவாரம், மரணித்தல்.

temples during the age The archæological remains in Travancore bear eloquent testimony to the long prevalence of Buddhism and Jainism there Some of the Buddhist remains have been washed away by the sea near Śrī Mūlavasa ¹ It had a celebrated Buddhist temple referred to in an early Gandhāran sculpture epigraph as well as in *Mūshakavamsa* Buddhist images have been found in plenty in several Taluks An inscription of Varaguna (ninth century) invokes the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha, while another of his time records in a Jain temple the votive images by Tamils from the Tamil land Jain images have been found in several places In British Malabar, Palghat and Sultan Battery have Jain temples still ²

Kongu (Coimbatore and Salem Districts) shared the same fate as Malabar though a few Saiva shrines existed there in the seventh century Four of them have been sung by Sambandhar

Jain figures whose dates are uncertain are reported to have been found in Vijayamangalam (Coimbatore District) ³ and Dharmapuri and Adigamankottai (Salem District) ⁴

From this brief survey of Buddhism and Jainism in the age of Sambandhar, we can easily realize the importance of and the reason for the beginning of the revival in the Chola land which produced the great boy-missionary Sambandhar ⁵ The star of Saivism rose in Chola and spread its light rapidly throughout the country

Chola

The largest number of temples 153 have been sung by Sambandhar in Chola Nadu Ninety-nine were on the south and fifty four on the north bank of the Kaveri, and a few more are mentioned in his *Kshētrakkōvai* ⁶ Karaikkal Pēy, Mulaṇ ⁷ and Chandi Chengan of the fourth century A D built a number of temples to Siva and it is likely that other Cholas also did the same Otherwise, we cannot explain how such a large number of temples were found by Sambandhar, some of them very old in his time

Tiruvalanjuli, ⁸ four miles from Kumbhakonam (S I Ry) has three hymns by Sambandhar and two by Appar Within a radius of ten miles from Kumbakonam, there are about a dozen *Kshētras* Archæology has brought to light a Jain figure in the second entrance to the Siva temple and a large roughly carved figure of a standing Buddha in Tiruvalanjuli. The existence of a Jain colony at Palayarai ⁹ near Kumbakonam is mentioned by Appar

¹ *Travancore Archæological Series*, vol i, part 12, vol ii, part 2

² *M A R*, 1910-11, pp 30 and 32

³ *Ibid*, 1896 July 21, p 2, 1910-11, p 29, 1919-20, p 7

⁴ *M E R*, 1911, p 5

⁵ *Periya li*, செந்நெல்சேர எண்ணகூர் எக்கம்பெருமொழியிடுத்தே
யரநிபுருகொழுகுந் தருமியனமுமாரபுர
புதிசெய்த விவகலம்போதலுமொருமொழியகலகல

⁶ *Tē*, ii 47, சேத்திரசேரமொழி, iv 98, *Ibid*, vi 93, திருமுருகு

⁷ According to *Periyapurāṇam*, the spirit of Mulaṇ a northern Yogi entered into the body of the shepherd of Sathanur Like the Pariah Tiruvalluvar, this shepherd Mulaṇ was an exception in his community

⁸ *M A R* 1912-13, p 68, 1918-19, p 7

⁹ *Tēv*, v 106, ஆதரமுடையே.

Remarkable Confirmation of Tēvāram

Ours is an old land with its history buried under the earth. The truth of the denunciations of Sambandhar in every place that he visited is proved by these unexpected arachæological finds. A large stone image of Buddha in the contemplating attitude with curly hair, top-knot, etc. with an old inscription has been found near Manganallur (S.I.Ry.), at Perunjēri,¹ while Kōttappādi² near Ambagarathur (S. I. Ry.) has an image of Buddha. There is an image of Buddha from the village of Elaiyur (Nannilam Taluk) in the Madras Museum. What do these prove? We know that Buddhism did not progress after the early centuries of the Christian era and Jainism after the seventh century. So is it not presumable that the bulk of these remains are pre-Sambandha? In and round Perunjēri and Kōttappādi, there are Saiva temples sung by Sambandhar. In his Meeyachur (Pēralam, S.I.Ry.) hymn³ Appar refers to Buddhist and Jaina temples existing there. At Thalichēri near Kōttappādi, Sambandhar had a controversy with Sāribuddha and Buddhanandi, the Buddhist leaders.⁴ At Puhār, twelve miles from Shiyali (S.I.Ry.), the birth-place of the boy-saint, two temples are sung by Sambandhar who as usual denounced the Buddhists and Jains living there. From an unexpected source, Buddha-datta,⁵ we learn that there were Buddhist *Vihāras* there and a Kalamba (= Kalabhra?) probably a Jain ruling Chola in the fifth century A.D. There are strong proofs that Nāgēsvaram⁶ (S.I. Ry.) had a Jain temple, and Jain sculptures have been picked up in the fields.

The large Leyden grant mentions Rājarāja Perumballi and the small Leyden grant of Kulottunga I mentions Rājendra-Perumballi at Negapatam⁷ (S. I. Ry.) in Tanjore District, Buddhist temples which must have gathered a Buddhist population round them. Negapatam as a Buddhist centre was much older. Tirumangai Alvar (eighth century A.D.) carried away the golden image of the Buddha from the place for repairing the Srirangam temple. Nagai Kārōnam, so called after Kayārōhana in the north, had Buddhists and Jains in the seventh century according to Sambandhar. The tradition is that Mahēndra embarked to Ceylon from Negapatam, and from long before Asoka, it kept up relations with the Naga islands in the ocean. So in the time of the later Chōlas there was but a renewal of the ancient Nāga-Buddhist intercourse between Nāgapuram (Java) and Nāgai. Sambandhar has sung on a few temples round Tirutturaipūndi (S.I.Ry.) near which there was probably a Jain settlement as late as the thirteenth century.⁸

¹ *M.A.R.*, 1912-13, p. 75.² *Ibid.*³ *Tēv.*, v. 13, *செய்யுள்சேர்த்துமலர்மயங்கு*.⁴ *Periya.*, ii. 333-44. The Buddhists of the place were defeated and converted.⁵ *Mythic Society Journal*, vol. xvi, part 2, p. 98n. See also his works *Abhidharmāvatāra* and *Vinayavinichaya*, Introd., Pali Text Society Publication. Excavations at Puhār are bound to bring to light some at least of the inscribed (in Brahmi?) tombs of *Manimekalai* and remains of the *Vihāras* noted by Buddhadatta.⁶ *S.I.I.*, vol. iii, No. 91; *M.E.R.*, 1912, pp. 7 and 62.⁷ *M.E.R.*, 1899.⁸ *Ibid.*, 1913, p. 112.

Tiruvārūr (S I Ry) according to Sēkkilār was full of Jains before the time of Sambandhar in the time of Naminandī.¹ Even now there are a few Jains near the place who claim to have been there for long.

The Jaina images and Jaina street in Jayankondacholapuram,² and the Jaina figures at Pēttavarthalai³ and the Jain remains in Madaṇapuram,⁴ Annavasal and Vellaniūr⁵ in Trichinopoly District prove the prevalence of Jainism round those places probably from Tēvaram days

The Nadu Nādu

Like Tanjore, Chingleput and Kanara, the Nadu Nādu, has still a small Jain population. We need not doubt its existence there from the pre-Tēvaram days. Patalika (modern Cuddalore, S I Ry) had a monastery in which the Jain work *Lōkavibhāga* was written in Saka 380, the twenty-second year of Pallava Simhavarman of Kānchi.⁶ The same monastery is referred to by Sēkkilār in the *Purāṇa* of Appar.⁷ In the hymns of Sambandhar and Appar on temples round about Pataliputra, there are innumerable references to Jains. This city according to Sēkkilār was near Tiruvadhigai or Tiruvādhī⁸ so famous in Appar's biography as the temple of *Guṇadharēsvaram* was built there by his king, persecutor and then disciple Mahēndra alias *Guṇadhara*.

Tirunātharkunru near the famous Gingee, Sirukadambur, Tirumalai and Vallimalai, Vengunram and Tirrakol have Jain remains.⁹ Images of Tirthāṅkaras from North Arcot District are found in the Madras Museum. Even as late as the thirteenth century, we hear of a small Buddhist population in Tiruchopuram near Alappakkam (S.I Ry) from an inscription of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya. The place had a Saiva temple on which there is a hymn of Sambandhar who, as usual, denounces the Buddhists and Jains there.¹⁰ Does not this vivid picture of the dominant religion of the seventh century show the greatness of the work of the first two Saiva saints?

The Tondai Nadu

The Tondai Nadu had the great Buddhist and subsequent Jain centre, Kānchi, one of the seven sacred cities of the Hindus. Manimekalai was initiated into Buddhism and her *Guru* Aravana of Puhār gave her discourses on the religion there. Huen tsang says that Kānchi was as old a Buddhist centre as Buddha himself.¹¹

¹ *Periya*, i 671 and 674, ii 617

² *M A R*, 1908-9, p 20

³ *Ibid*, 1903-4, p 90

⁴ *Ibid*, 1908-9, p 32

⁵ *Ibid*, 1909 10, p 19, *M E R*, 1913

⁶ The first Saka date and the first definite date in S India History. *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1909-10

⁷ *Periya*, ii 464, 469

⁸ *M E R*, 1921-22, p 99

⁹ *M A R*, 1895, July 23, p 5, 1910-11 p 84, 1916-17, p 6, 1918-19 p 7, *M E R*, 1887, p 2

¹⁰ *Tet*, i 67

¹¹ Beal, vol ii, p 229

Two Chōla kings of the Sangham age built Buddhist *vihāras* there according to the epic.¹

Some Buddhist images were found out in Kāmākshi temple in a short time by Mr. T. A. Gopinātha Rao.² Out of the five images, two were within the temple. One of them is now in the Madras Museum. Jain figures³ also are reported to exist in the second *prākāra* of the same temple.⁴ A Jaina image was found on the road to Big Kānchi.⁴ The influence of the Buddhist *vihāras* on the style of building can be clearly seen even to-day in the style of the Vaikuntaperumāl temple⁵ which is designed after them.

Round Kānchi, there is a bumper crop of materials to establish the prevalence of the Jaina faith in olden days. As in the Northern Circars so in Tamil Nādu, the Jains, and then the Hindus, established themselves in Buddhist buildings⁶ on the decline of Buddhism somewhere about the fifth century A.D. So, we have very few Buddhist remains. At Tirupparuthikunru and near it, there are Jain temples. At Ārpākkam a Jain temple, at Ārperumbākkam and Vishār mutilated Jain images, at Siruvākkam an early Jaina grant, at Ānandamangalam three groups of Jaina images with an inscription of Parāntaka I, at Uttaramērur a stone image of a Jain preacher in the Vishnu temple, at Punadagai the foundations of a Jain temple and two large Jaina idols—these remains are reported from Kānchi Taluk.⁷ Near some of these is found a small Jaina population even now, but the remains are distinctly old. Their existence in such large numbers points to their origin in the hey-day of Jainism. Near the last place Punadagai is Tiruvāthur noticed by Sewell in his lists and reported by the epigraphist as containing traditions of the persecution of the Jains by the Saivas who demolished the Jain temple and built their own with those materials. In the Saiva temple, it is said, a palmyra tree is sculptured. According to Sēkkilār,⁸ Sambandhar performed a miracle at Tiruvōthur in Tondai as a result of which male palmyras began to yield⁹ and after which the Jains of the place ran away (or, were driven out?) At Tirumāgaral sung by Sambandhar, there are two Jaina images in Adipatta Alaghar Koil.¹⁰ In the Madras Museum there are a Jaina image discovered at Villivākkam (M.S.M. Ry.) and a Buddhist image discovered at Kūvam. This Kūvam was called Tiruvirkōlam¹¹ by Sambandhar who has left a hymn on the temple there. In the hymn, the place is also called Kūham and Siva

¹ So, with Karikāla who goldplated the Kānchi (Siva?) temple, (*M.E.R.*, 1909, p. 87), there were three Chōlas who held sway over Tondai in the Sangham age. There is no place for three foreign kings after the Pallavas began to rule over Kānchi.

² *Ind. Ant.*, 1915, p. 127.

³ *M.A.R.*, 1898, p. 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1910-11, p. 38.

⁶ திரு அரபைப் பெரும் பரழி and திருப்புகளூர் வந்தமரலிச் சுவர் are reminiscent of Buddhist and Jain associations.

⁷ *M.E.R.*, 1922-23, p. 128. *M.E.R.*, 1924, p. 6.

⁸ *Periya.*, ii. 364.

⁹ I understand that this strange phenomenon or freak takes place even without a miracle!

¹⁰ *M.A.R.*, 1897, July 20, p. 4. *M.E.R.*, 1923, p. 4. The Jain temple there is called Ādi-Bhattaraka temple.

¹¹ *Tēv.*, iii, 29-30.

is praised in it as the revealer of *Āgamas* also besides the usual *Vēdas* and *Angas*.¹ Remarkably enough the saint finishes his hymn with the words that Siva gives plenty to his devotees who do not heed the preaching of Jains and Buddhists.² There were Buddhists and Jains in Mylapore in Sambandhar's day.³ As late as A.D. 754 Akalanka, a well-known Jain teacher, is said to have defeated the Buddhists at Kānchi at Hēmasitala's court.⁴

These plentiful Jaina remains should not blind us to the fact that Kānchi had early Saiva associations. Buried *lingas* were discovered in Tondai as early as the time of Sundara.⁵ Karikāla, no Buddhist or Jain, covered the temple at Kānchi with gold.⁶ Some of the old Saiva saints like Sākkiyan who was afraid of professing his faith on account of the great popularity of Buddhism and some of the early Vaishnava Ālvars belonged to Tondaimandalam.

CHAPTER IV — THE INFLUENCE OF BUDDHISM AND JAINISM

The Bhakti Cult

The influence of Buddhism and Jainism on the *Bhakti* movement has already been indicated. The new Brahmanism incorporated in itself some of the essentials of the former and thus bridged the way for the absorption of the Buddhists and the Jains. It was a popular movement and expressed itself in the popular tongue. It saw no difference of caste or sex and embraced all to its bosom as the anti-Vēdic religions had done before. Sacrifices, Vēdic and un-Vēdic, decreased in number and rituals were set at naught. Spontaneous and untrammelled devotion to the cause of all whose existence was ignored or denied by the *Āraiddika* religions flowed like the waters of a hitherto dammed torrent, and swept away the yellow-robed custodians of the latter who had fallen victims to sophistry and hair-splitting argumentation and become the butt of Mahendra's ridicule⁷ and swerved from the path trodden by the Enlightened One into the popular path of worship.⁸ But, as is the

¹ Cf. *Tēv*, vi 92, எககாவரம்.

ஆதலே தெந்தை எககாவரம் குருகு விடலு
எருகை கோதென்றதலே. Note that the two are mentioned separately.

² Saiva literature mentions six sections of *Thērar* (= Sthāvira?) Sthāvira was popular in the south.

³ *Periya*, ii 402

⁴ *M E R.*, 1905, p. 57 Probably this Hēmasitala was *Hiranyavarman*, father of Nandivarman Pallavamalla

⁵ vii, 92, குகிலாவரம்

⁶ He is credited by Sēkilār with having peopled and walled Kānchi, the ancient city, and thus placed in very early times

⁷ See Mahendrarvarman I's *Mattavilāsaprahasana* (Triv. Skt. Series)

⁸ Relic and tomb worship, the placing of gold flowers, etc., in the relic casket, the reverencing of the symbols like the foot-prints, the chakra, and the flaming *trisula* pillar, Tree and Serpent worship were not new to Buddhism. To this system was now added the image of Buddha as Lord. The philosophy which expounded the need for such a coping stone to the edifice of Buddhism could easily lend its support to the revival of the old and once popular cults of Siva and Vishnu

case with all popular movements, the *Bhakti* movement carried within itself the seed for decline. In the face of a common foe it stood for the freedom and equality of all its members. But victory cooled the ardour and led to disintegration and restrictions,

Saivism Softened

The Mahayāna has been said to have evolved as a result of the reaction of the popular temple and image worship on Hinayāna. Thus the Mahayāna led on to the Saiva and Vaishnava revival, the centre of which was a graceful God giving salvation to people devoted to Him. The system of sacrifices to Gods received a rude though not fatal blow as a result of contact with Buddhism and Jainism the central tenet of which was self-control of which *Ahimsa* was the first manifest expression. The horrible aspects of Siva and *Sakti* worship were softened partly by Aryanism and partly by the un-Vēdic religions. The *Bali-pīṭam* remained but unstained by blood. The aspect of Siva as a *Yōgi* and *Guru* was presumably emphasized by the example of Buddha. The most excellent and important feature of the two new religions or schisms as they may better be called, was their monasteries where irrespective of caste or sex the unending pursuit of Knowledge was carried on. From this height of *Dipāladiṇṇe* (mound of light) literally and metaphorically, what a fall to *Lanjadibba* and *Bhogandānidibba* (the mound of the dancing girl) used to-day to designate Buddhist mounds in the Telugu country, all on account of their degeneracy into *Vajrāyana Tāntrism*.

Architecture

The influence of Buddhism is seen at its best in architecture and sculpture. Siva captured many Buddhist shrines. So early, thorough and quick was the revival in the Tamil districts that very few Buddhist and Jaina buildings of the ancient times have come down to us. Besides, they were also built with easily perishable materials like timber and brick. But, in the Circars the two religions flourished longer and their extant relics are more abundant and useful in tracing the various links in the evolution of Indian religion and fine arts.

There are two Hindu temples in the Circars of the Kapōtēswara temple at Chezrala¹ and the temple at Peddakanchērla² which show their Buddhist origin. Siva has captured Jain shrines at Dhānuvalapādu.³ It is quite likely that the same thing happened in the south also.

The Buddhist style of building can be traced in the various styles found now in South India.⁴ And the sculptures of the Buddha's deeds and donative inscriptions in the rails of the *Tōpes* must have inspired the execution of similar things by the other religionists.

¹ *M.A.R.*, 1889, April 30, p. 13.

² *Ibid.*, 1894, July 10, p. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, 1903-4, p. 26.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1915-16, p. 28 ; see post part iii, chap. vi.

A cursory study of the Buddhist structural buildings at Guntapalli in Ellore Taluk reveals the architectural style in the early centuries of the Christian era and the profound influence such buildings must have had in the evolution of South Indian temples.¹ In the Madras Museum may be seen to day some of the Buddhist sculptures of Jaggayyapēta. In one slab there is a shrine with towers. Inside the shrine are the feet of the Buddha. Two women are seen near them with vessels and one with her hands in the *anjali* pose. This may be assigned to about A.D. 300. This gives us a glimpse into one of the sources for later Brahmanical architecture and worship. In the same place may be seen another slab with the Buddha on a lotus sheltered by the *Bō tree* and attended by a fairy, a five hooded snake and a devotee. There is also a *stupa* by the side. There is an inscription by Nāgarjuna's disciple's disciple. This gives us a glimpse into the fact that Buddhism came to adopt the primitive Tree and Serpent Worship. Just like the Buddha in the slab, there were many *Lingas* in days of yore under trees, the later *Śthalavṛkshas*, attended and guarded by a Naga or Nagas.

PART III —TAMIL TEMPLES

CHAPTER I —THE EARLY CENTURIES OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA

The Dolmen

There are no remains of Brahmanical temples in the Tamil country before the seventh century A.D., the age of the *Seven Pagodas*. But, literature and epigraphy point to the existence of a large number of temples before that period. It has been said that Gods and Goddesses were first sheltered under trees and only subsequently temples were erected for them. The earliest extant buildings are the Dolmens, the places of the dead. They were built in the style of the houses of those days, after which temples must have been constructed.

Kōvil

¹ *Kōvil* is a pure Tamil word. It conveys the fact that the Tamils built temples themselves and did not borrow the idea. It literally means the king's house and indicates the origin and style of the early Tamil temples.² Be that as it may, the example of the *stupas* and *vihāras* and images of Buddha erected and revered by the Buddhists must have influenced the other religionists in the same direction. And there are traces of Buddhism in Pandya from the third century B.C.

¹ *M.A.R.* 1916-17, pp. 30-36.

² Cf. *Tev.*, IV, 51. காவில் காவில் காவில்

Temples in 'Sangham Literature'

The hymn on *Muruga* in 'the Sangham collection' called *The Ten Idylls* mentions Tirupparankunram, Tiruchendur, Tiruāvinankudi and Tiruvēragam, as his abodes. *Silappadhikāram*, *Manimēkalai* and *Paripādai* mention many Vaishnava and Skanda shrines. Vēnkatam, Srīrangam, Tirumālirunjōlai and Tiruvekka, are very old shrines of Vishnu. Vēnkatam was probably a Muruga shrine at first, or a shrine for both Siva and Vishnu from the beginning between whom the ancient people did not discriminate so invidiously as now. The names Vrishasaila and Sēshasaila meaning Bull-hill and Snake-hill respectively are used as synonyms of Tirupati.¹ Moreover, an early Vaishnava Ālvar Pēy sings thus :

தாழ்சலையும் நீர்முடியும் ஒர்மலையும் சேசமும்
குழையும் பொன்னுலும் தோன்றமாஸ்—சூழும்
நீண்டருவிபாயும் திருமலைமே லெந்தைக்கு
இரண்டிருவ மென்ற யிசைந்து.

The *Epic of the Anklet* mentions Siva fanes in the chapter on Indra festival. And the *Jewel-belt* includes Saivam as one of the well-known systems. *Kumari* is mentioned by Ptolemy (A.D. 150) whose temple is therefore very old. This form of *Sakti* was worshipped by the *Mahēsvaras*. The building of temples to *Pattini-Devi* and the consecration ceremonies for her image dealt with in the first Epic tell us that the people were familiar with temple-building, image-worship, and the invocation of spirits in stone figures. It may be mentioned in passing that *Vīrakals* with images of the heroes and short inscriptions used to be set up as early as the age of *Tolkāppiyam*. So, working in stone familiar to early Buddhists was ancient in Tamilakam.

Temples in the Seventh Century

From about the latter half of the seventh century, we have a collection of Tamil hymns, known as *Tēvāram* or garland of God. The first two who sang them are assigned to the middle of the seventh century and the third to the ninth century. The hymns of the first two, Sambandhar and Appar, tell us of the existence of many Saiva temples in the Tamil country in their time. Thus, Appar goes to the extent of saying that the place which had no temple was a mere forest.² Since all these temples could not have come into existence at the same time, their age must be spread over a number of centuries. Some of these temples are sung by Sambandhar as old, while he has not sung about the newly erected Pallava structures. The Pallavas' new shrines were not so sacred in the eyes of our saints. So far as we know, there has not been a single Buddhist or Jain Chōla, and except Kūn Pāndya, history knows no other Jain or Buddhist Pāndya. So these Tamil temples, must have been raised by those native dynasties and thus acquired peculiar sanctity.

¹ H. Krishna Sastri, *ante*, p. 62n.

² vi. 130, தனி-திருக்கோயிலில்லாத திருவிடும் அடவீசரே.

CHAPTER II —THE AGE OF CHENGAN

Chengan, the Chola king, was a great devotee of Siva. A Vaishnava saint of the eighth century Tirumangai, praises his building activity

இருககிலுக்கு திருமொழிவர் பெண்டோ வீசற
கெழின மாடம் எழுபதுசெய தலகமாண்ட
திருக்குலத்து வாசகசேழன்

(பெரியதிருமொழி)

He is one of the Sixty-three Saiva saints and is mentioned by Sambandhar and Appar¹ several times who narrate in their hymns, the story of his birth. It must have taken a long time for such legends to grow round him and pass into popular currency in the time of the saints

Poigai

Chengan was a contemporary of Poigaiyar, author of *Kalavali Narpatu*,² one of the so called 'Sangham poems'. The piece was sung by the poet in order to please Chengan and make him release the poet's patron, a Chera king. In it, the bloody battle between the two is said to have been fought at Kalumalam.³

Chengan a Great King

Tirumangai calls Chengan a victor at Venni and Alundai (in Tanjore District). He also calls him overlord of the earth and ruler of Pandi, Kudagu and Kongu, and lord of Tamil and Northern country.⁴ Sundara speaks of him as the king who ruled as a Pandya.⁵ Sēkkilar calls Chengan an emperor.⁶ *Kalingattupparani*, a Tamil poem of the twelfth century refers to Chengan's war with the Chēra and the poem of Poigai.⁷ These eulogies belong to a considerably later period than Chengan's. Nevertheless, they show

¹ *Tev* II 29 ஆண்கள் IV 61, குறுகை

² *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xviii, p. 262

³ அருங்கிரே வட்டகம் in the piece must be taken to refer to the death of the Chēra though tradition and all later accounts are against this view

⁴ உலகவாசகிதீபதி பெண்ணி பேற்ற

சுழன்மன்னர் கனிமுடிமேற் கரசமேற்

தெய்வகரை வலகொண்ட சேழனசேனத்

திருசுறைநீர் மணிமேடகு சேயிவ்வள

பாரை வளிகொன் றழகந்தபேற்ற

படைமன்ன குடங்குணிய பரிமாவுய்த

தோண்ட சேசசேழன் சேந்தசேயில்

⁵ மினகுடுவெல்கு விளந்தகேள்

வினனேந்த தனியேழபத் தலகமாண்ட

தென்குடம், குடகொண்ட, சேழன்சேந்த

தெனநிழன் கடபுலகோன் சேழன்

பெரியதிருமொழி சுறைநீர்

⁶ *Tev* VII 52 'தெனவகு புலகாண்ட' 4

தொண்டத்தொடை

⁷ *Pertya*, II 824, "திக்கணத்தும் தனிசெவகோன் முறைநிறத்தி"

⁸ "காவழிக் கவிதைபொய்கை, புரைசெய்யவுதிவன்

காவழித்தலைபெட்டி, பாட்டெலவழி" St 184

how he has passed into tradition as a great valiant and pious emperor.

Date—before or after Karikāla?

Early Sangham literature does not mention him, though the later Sangham piece *Kalavālmārpattu* describes his exploits (fourth century A.D.?). There is however a piece by Nakkirar in the *Eleventh Tirumurai*, where he praises Siva as having made a spider king, referring to the story of Chengan. But this has been declared to be a later piece.¹ The piece in *Parandānūru*² which contains a hint about Chengan was one of the many fugitive pieces collected at a later period. So from literary evidence, this great hero cannot be placed in the first two or three centuries of the Christian era.

One of the later Chōla inscriptions³ places him before Karikāla and *Kalingattupparani*⁴ also does the same. But, both are very late authorities. Two inscriptions⁵ of the later Chōlas place Chengan after Karikāla. The *Vikramachōla*, *Kulottungachōla* and *Sankarachōla ulas* also place him after Karikāla.⁶ But these also are equally late authorities.

Chengan's Perunkoyils

The great work that Chengan did for the cause of Saivism, namely, the building of temples, epoch-making though it was, does not help us in fixing his date which must lie somewhere between Karikāla and Sambandhar. Tirumangai sings of his having built about seventy temples to Siva, and he has built some temples to Vishnu also. Probably, he placed Siva and Vishnu in the same temples as even now you find at Tillai. Such a tolerant spirit was characteristic of the early Saiva and Vaishnava saints. His temples to Siva were known as *Perunkōyil* or *Mādakkōyil*, i.e., storeyed temples. They had a top portion which resembled an elephant in its lying posture, i.e., they had long domes⁷ in which can be traced the influence of the Buddhist style. The reason why his temples were called big or storeyed temples is not apparent. But, it is quite likely that the temples before his time were small or *Ilankoyil*. In the *Tēvāram*, some of the temples are distinctly referred to as his. Nannilam, not sung by Sambandhar or Appar but mentioned by Appar, is called the temple of Chengan in a hymn of Sundarar.⁸ Sambandhar mentions Chengan as the builder of the temples at Ambar,⁹ Thandalainineri,¹⁰ and Vaigal.¹¹

¹ Kanakasabai, *ante.*, p. 197n.

² No. 74.

³ *S.I.I.*, vol. ii, part ii, p. 153.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.* vol. xviii, p. 27. The *Parani* places him a little later than the Bhārata war.

⁵ *S.I.I.*, vol. iii, part iv, Tiruvālangādu pl. ; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xv, p. 46.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xviii, p. 27.

⁷ K. V. Subramania Iyer, *Sketches of the Deccan*, vol. i, p. 187.

⁸ *Tēv.*, vii, 129, தீவிலம் (S.I. Ry.)

⁹ iii, 24, அம்பர் near Nallāru (S.I. Ry.)

¹⁰ iii, 63, தண்டலினேரி, fifteen miles south of Tiruvārur (S.I. Ry.)

¹¹ iii, 23, வைகல். Near Tiruvidamarudar (S.I. Ry.)

Sambandhar calls the temples at Pennāgadam,¹ Kudavāyil,² Kīlvēlur³ and Shiyālī⁴ as *Perunkōyil*. He calls the temple at Akkūr⁵ an old temple and a Mādakkōyil which appeared of its own accord in other words, the *linga* of which was *Svayambhu* instances of which are plentiful. Tradition is strong that Anakka near Srirangam had a *linga* under a *jumboo* tree in the time of Chengan who built a temple for it.⁶

Chengan before Sīmhavishnu

When could such a tolerant and great temple-builder and powerful conqueror and ruler have lived? In the present state of our knowledge, no such powerful Chōla could have lived after Sīmhavishnu Pallava (A D 590) who defeated the Chōla, Pandya and Kalabhra.⁷ No Chōla could have been ruler of Pandya in the first two or three centuries of the Christian era as the Pāndya kings are referred to in foreign and Tamil literatures, and the succession of Chēra and Pāndya overlordship after the age of Karikāla must have taken at least 200 years. So, we must find a place for Chengan between the Pāndyan of Talaiyālanganam⁸ and Sīmhavishnu.

Before Achyuta Vikrama Kalamba

The Kalabhras were in occupation of Pāndya between King Palyāgasalai and King Kadungon, roughly for about two centuries according to the Vēlvikudi grant (eighth century). According to Sēkkilār (eleventh century), in the time of Murthi (probably before Kūn, seventh century) the *Vaduga-Karnāta* was in occupation of Pāndya. The Karnātas were Jains according to Nambī, Sēkkilār and Umapathi. In the fifth century A D a *Kalamba* Achyuta Vikrama, contemporary of Buddhadatta who mentions him, was ruler of Chōla.⁹ In the Chalukya and Pallava inscriptions,¹⁰ the Kalabhras are located somewhere near the Kēralas. In the Kadamba inscriptions,¹¹ some of the early Kadambas are said to have defeated the Pallava and the southern kings. So, it is very difficult to decide if the Kalabhra or Kalamba is to be equated with Kalava (= Kallar) or Kadamba.¹² Either way, Chengan could not

¹ 75 குவ்வையிலு, eleven miles south west of Vriddāchelam (S I Ry)

² 27, குவ்வையிலு eight miles north of Koradacheri (S I Ry)

³ 11 134, சேவ்வையிலு (S I Ry) ⁴ 11 3, 1 32, 1 25, சேவ்வையிலு (S I Ry)

⁵ 11 51, சேவ்வையிலு (S I Ry) ⁶ 14 61, சேவ்வையிலு

⁷ S I I, vol II p 73, Nandivarman's Kasakudi Pl

⁸ S K. Iyengar, *Beginnings of South Indian History*, ch vi

⁹ *Myth Soc Jour* vol xvi, part 2, p 98a Buddhadatta's works (Pall Text Soc) Introd, see ante

¹⁰ *Ind Ant*, vol ix, p 129 vii, p 303 *Ep Ind* vol v, p 204, S I I vol II, p 356 vol I p 152, *M E R*, 1908 p 65

¹¹ *M E R*, 1908, p 65

¹² There is a stone inscription in Pudukkottai State on a slab in a ruined sluice at Rāsāhppatti of the time of Pallava Nandipottaraiyar which mentions a Pullaya Kadamban. In some of the later inscriptions, 357 of 1906 and 337 of 1914, in Pudukkottai the name Kadambavāyar occurs. That Telingas (Vadugas?) were once ruling there is established by 393 of 1904 which calls Nārthamalai Telingakulakālapuram. If the Kalabhras of the Vēlvikudi plates

have ruled Chōla, Pāndya, etc., in the fifth century, the age of confusion (சுழற்சி, கலங்கம் !)

After Skanda Pallava : Kalidasa confirms it

So, neither the fifth nor the sixth century was the age of Chengan who was a great conqueror and ruler of Pāndya, according to the unerring testimony of Sundarar and Tirumangai. In the third century, a Pallava was king of Kānchi, the great Mahārāja Vijaya-skandavarman. His line seems to have ruled, or was associated with Kānchi till A.D. 350, the date of Vishnugōpa of Kānchi, a contemporary of the great Samudragupta. Now the Chōla power revived under Chengan. Since Puhār had been washed to some extent by tidal wave,¹ the Chōla who had his capital at Puhār had shifted to Uraiyr. Sometime later, Chengan ruled not only over Chōla but also over Pāndya which latter fact has been specially mentioned by Sundarar. Is this not the reason why Kālidāsa mentions in his conquest of Raghu, which he possibly based upon the almost contemporary *digvijaya* of Samudragupta, only the Pāndya country in the Tamil land? The poet mentions Pāndya next to Kalinga completely ignoring the Pallava. What is more curious is Kālidāsa mentions Urugapura as the Pāndya capital. Urugapura is Uraiyr as we learn from the Gadwal plates² of Vikramaditya I. So Sundarar's praise of Chengan as one who ruled as a Pāndya either by right of conquest or inheritance by marriage is confirmed by various evidences.

If we take Tirumangai's statement seriously that Chengan was ruler of the north, then Chengan it was that drove the phantom Vishnugōpa of Kānchi from his capital, and re-established his rule in his ancestral province. This is another argument to show that the Pallava was an intruder in the Tamil land who was expelled to the north but who came again. Is this not the reason why the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates³ say that Kumāra Vishnu had to recapture Kānchi which had been lost by the Pallava during the rule of Chengan? This Chōla interregnum was caused by Chengan and not Karikāla as Mr. Venkayya supposed.⁴

and so the Kalabhra Achyuta Vikrama are equated with the Vaduga-Karnātas of *Periyapurānam*, then they are properly located in the vicinity of Kērala. They seem to have swept over the Tamil land like a deluge before which the Pallava bowed for a time.

¹ *Manimekalai*.

² *Ep. Ind.*, vol. x, p. 100. Curiously enough the Pāndya capital also was called Snake-city (*M.E.R.*, 1908, p. 64). The shape of Madura was determined by a serpent called Alavoy at the command of Siva. So the town was called Alavoy or Hālāsya.

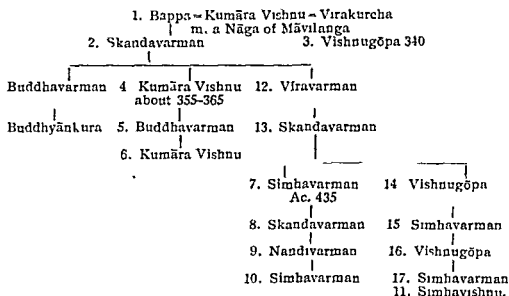
³ *S.I.I.*, vol. ii, p. 45.

⁴ Mr. Kanakasabai and Dr. S. K. Iyengar have fixed the age of Karikāla in the early centuries. The foreign Pallavas powerful in the Deccan as officers of the Āndhras might have invaded Kānchi in Karikāla's reign thus bringing about the traditional war between the Chōla and a certain Trilōchana Pallava who is also referred to in Chālukyan and Telugu Chōla inscriptions as a very ancient ruler. After Karikāla, two other Chōlas and Tondamān the Young Tiraya a Chōlanāga ruled Tondai. Sometime after, the Pallava came again to permanently occupy Kānchi except for a short period in Chengan's reign. The names Kanda *Chaliki* (Chalukya) Kammnaka (Nāga) of the Hiramnaka

From another viewpoint, the age of Poigai, scholars have attempted to arrive at the age of his contemporary, Chengan. He is identified with the early Ālvar of the same name and assigned by tradition to a very early period. The age of the Ālvar was about the fourth century A.D.

Interregnum between No. 3 and No. 4

The following genealogical table has been arrived at for the Palavas after a good deal of deliberation, in which provision has been made for the Chōla interregnum for about two decades. This table is only tentative.



The Prākṛit grants of Mydavōlu,¹ Hīrahadagalli² and Kandukūru³ give us,

Bappa
|
Skandavarman
|
Buddhavarman
|
Buddhyānkura.

About A.D. 340 Vishnugōpa was king of Kānchi.⁴ We are entirely in the dark if Buddhavarman ever reigned and how Vishnugōpa was related to the above members. It has been assumed in Part I that the first Pallava became king of Kānchi by marrying in the family

(Hiranyaka ?) dynasty, Kanda Sagaram (Tirayar ?) Nāla of the Pukīya clan (Chūtu kula ?) in the recently excavated *Nāgārjunakonda* inscriptions open another wide field for speculation about the Chālukyās, Nāgas and Pallavas, *M. E. R.*, 1927.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. vi, p. 84.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. viii, p. 143

⁴ Samudragupta's Allahabad Ins. . Gupta Ins

of the Māvilanga chief who succeeded to the Tamil traditions of patronage of letters, etc., after the heyday of the 'Sangham Kings'. The rise of the Pallava must also synchronize with the decline of the Andhras. So, about the middle of the third century, *Bappa* the earliest name in the charters became king. Since in no inscription the order Skandavarman, Buddhavarman, etc., is found, we may assume that Buddhavarman did not reign. Thus, we may assign 1 and 2 to the period between the middle of the third century and about A.D. 310 when probably Vishnugōpa succeeded to the throne. In view of the fact that Vishnugōpa *king of Kānchi* does not occur in any *early* inscription next to Skandavarman, it is difficult to assign him a proper place.

The kings of the Sanskrit charters are of two dynasties. One section does not connect itself in any way with Kānchi though some belonging to it call themselves Mahārājas. And there is no reason why they should be put in as kings of Kānchi. But, it has been asked why the Nellore Pallavas mention the names of the Kānchi kings in their charters. The answer is for the obvious reason that they were descended from and related to them.

It is definitely stated that Kumāravishnu recaptured Kānchi¹ and his son Buddhavarman conquered the Chōlas. He was indeed 'the submarine fire to the ocean of Chola forces' (i.e. the successors of Chengan?) It is also definitely known that a Simhavarman was king of Kānchi about A.D. 435.² From the Penukonda³ plates of Mādhavaganga, we may infer that probably the abovesaid Simhavarman is referred to by them. He was succeeded by a Skanda according to the Penukonda and Udayēndiram grants.⁴

Turning awhile to the genealogical list, we may take any of the Sanskrit charters first and then proceed to the rest. Let us take a grant of the main line, the Chendalur plates⁵ and assign their proper places to Nos. 4, 5, and 6. The Uruvappalli,⁶ the Omgodu II⁷, the Chura⁸ and Pikira,⁹ Mangalur¹⁰ and Darsi¹¹ Plates fit in and supply Nos. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. To fit in the list Omgodu I,¹² we have to add Kumāravishnu as the name of *Bappa*. It is quite likely as his grandson was Kumāravishnu.

The Uruvappalli grant says that Yuvamahārāja Vishnugōpa issued it in the reign of Simhavarman. It has been rightly assumed that Simha was his elder brother. Now, the question arises as to why the Nellore branch succeeded to the main line. Possibly due to failure of issue after No. 6. The Vēlūrpālaiyam plates mention only some of the important names. We are concerned at present more with the order in which the names are given. According to it,

¹ The Velurpalaiyam plate, *M.E.R.*, 1911, p. 61.

² From *Lokavibhāga*.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xiv, p. 331.

⁴ *S.I.I.*, vol. ii.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, p. 233. No. 6 ruled over the Northern Pallava dominion also.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. v.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xv, p. 252.

⁸ *M.E.R.*, 1914.

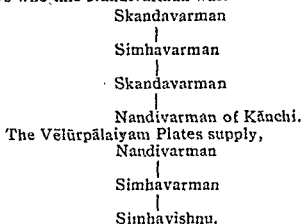
⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, p. 159.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. v.

¹¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. i, p. 397.

¹² *Ibid.*, vol. viii, p. 246.

Nandivarman came after Buddhavarman. The Udayēndīram grant says who this Nandivarman was.



So roughly calculating backwards from Simhavishnu, we arrive at about the same date for the Simha of the Udayēndīram grant as that mentioned by *Lōkavibhāga* (a.c. A.D. 435). This Simha's father was Skanda, and naturally enough his son also was Skanda. But, there is no space for Simha's father in the main line even assuming that he lived after Kumāravishnu II. The Vāyalar inscription¹ may be used to verify the table here and there. It is impossible that Rājasimha had thirty-four predecessors at Kānchi if we start the line with Kālabhartṛ leaving his predecessors. He mixes up real with legendary names and confounds the two if not three lines including the one in the ceded districts² which gave the dynasty the glorious title of Trairajya Pallava.

It is absurd to dogmatize about such points as the above and difficult to arrive at infallible conclusions about Pallava succession, the relationship among the kings, and their dates before Simhavishnu. Dr. Dubreuil, Mr. K. V. Subramania Iyer and Dr. S. K. Iyengar have dealt with the problems and arrived at different conclusions with regard to succession. Of these, the French Savant's is the most reasonable and is adopted above to a considerable extent.

CHAPTER III.—THE EVIDENCE OF EPIGRAPHY

There is an *Orukal* (made of a single stone) *mandapa* on the way up the hill in Tirukkalugukunram. It is a rock-cut temple. In the Vedagirisvara temple in the same place, there is an inscription of Āditya I Chōla renewing a grant originally made to the temple of *Mūlasthanā* by Skandasishya Pallava. Before Āditya, the grant was renewed by Narasimhavarman I. The *Orukal mandapa* has an inscription of Narasimha who probably made the first renewal and it was probably the *Mūlasthanā* referred to above.³ According to our arrangement, this Skandāsishya must be the great Skandavarman of the Prakrit grants. Another early Pallava grant, that of Chārudevi,⁴

¹ *M.E.R.*, 1908-9; Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, p. 20. The Ins. supplies 13, 7, 8, 9 and 10; and 15, 16, 17 and 11.

² *Arch. Survey of India, Memoirs*, No. 26, p. 9.

³ *M.A.R.*, 1919-20, p. 25; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. iii, p. 279.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, p. 143. According to the above arrangement No. 2 Skanda has to be assigned A.D. 280-310.

the wife of the prince Buddhavarman, according to our chronology who did not rule at Kānchi, mentions a Vishnu temple at Dālura in Nellore District.

The inscription of Mahēndravarman I at Mandagappattu¹ puts the whole matter beyond doubt. 'This is the temple caused to be constructed by the king Vichitra Chitta for Brahma, Īsvara and Vishnu without using bricks, timber, metals, or mortar,' for it was built of a single stone like the *Orukal mandapa* (of Skandasishya?). So there were temples before Mahēndra but they were generally built of brick, mortar and wood.

Professor Dubreuil of Pondicherry, while examining the Ekāmra-natha temple,² found some pillars bearing the surnames of Mahēndravarman I like Chitrakārapuli. Some of the pillars were ornamented with lotus flowers like the cave pillars of Mahēndra. So this great authority on the Pallavas has concluded that these pillars once supported a structural temple referred to in his Mandagappattu inscription.

CHAPTER IV.—THE EVIDENCE OF HIUEN TSANG

This pilgrim visited Kānchi in A.D. 640. 'In Dravida, there are some hundred *Sanghārāmas* and ten thousand priests. There are some eighty *Dēva* temples and many heretics called *Nirgranthas*. South of Kānchi, there is a *stupa*, 100 feet high, built by Asoka.'³

Dravida consisted of the Tondai and Nadu Nāḍus. But, in his time, since the Chōla was very weak, it is likely that a part of his land was included in Dravida and another part in Pāndya. Sambandhar has sung of twenty-two and sixteen temples in Tondai and Nadu Nāḍus respectively. Appar has sung of two more. Besides, there were some Vaishnava temples of *Prabandha* fame. So the pilgrim is not wrong in estimating the total number of *Dēva* temples at about eighty. Appar, a contemporary of the pilgrim is always represented in our temples with a grass-cutting instrument which he is said to have used in removing the weeds and grass which had grown over the temples which were old enough in his days. He also confirms the pilgrim's account by his repeated references to the naked shameless Jains.

About Pāndya, besides calling it largely *nirgrantha* which is again confirmed by the *Tēvāram*, he mentions the remains of old Buddhist convents and *stupas* the origin of which he rightly traces to the Asokan days and refers to many hundred *Dēva* temples. Since the pilgrim has located the Chōla in the present Ceded Districts, he has included a large number of the Chōla *Dēva* temples as belonging to Pāndya. Sambandhar has sung of only thirteen temples in Pāndya.

CHAPTER V.—THE PALLAVA AND LATER CHŌLA BUILDERS

Of the innumerable temples sung by Sambandhar and Appar, none is mentioned as built by the Pallava. Pallavaneswaram though apparently a Pallava temple cannot be traced to that origin.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xvii, p. 14.

² See his paper on the subject.

³ Beal, *ante*. vol. ii, p. 229.

Mahēndrapalli is another apparently Pallava temple. We are not sure if it had anything to do with Mahēndra though from a hymn of Sambandhar we may learn that the place was an important one and full of Buddhists and Jains. There are two temples of about the eighth century, one at Kūranganiṁmuttam and the other at Vallam.¹ These two places are sung by Sambandhar alone. The two Pallava temples were probably built as a contrast to the two old *Tēvara* brick structures. It is really strange that none of the temples built by Mahēndra, Narasimha, Paramēśvara or Rājasimha has been sung. Nor is there any reference to the great Saivas Paramēśvara and Rājasimha whose great devotion is amply borne out by their temples and inscriptions.

It is likely that the work of renewing the old *Tēvara* temples with stone began in the later Pallava period. By that time, the size of the temple had grown considerably and elaborate treatises had been written on temple building which stereotyped the style and art. Before the time of the later Chōlas, some of the *Tēvara* temples had been built of stone. There was another general renewal of the *Tēvara* temples in the age of the later Chōlas. The temple at Tilasthānam bears the inscriptions of Nandi, of Tellāru and Varaguna Pāndya of the ninth century. There are two inscriptions of Vijayālaya's time in Paṇanam² and Viṭimilalai,³ Rāmanādhisvaram also bears equally old inscriptions⁴ Erembiyur⁵ has an inscription of Āditya I, while Rājarāja I has inscribed on the Maḷapadi⁶ temple, Vijayālaya has also inscribed in Nālurmayānam. The temple of Tiruvāduturai was built of stone in the reign of Parantaka I.⁷ The temple at Mananjēri was built of stone by Rājarāja.⁸ The central shrine at Orriyur was renewed with stone by Rājēndra I.⁹ In the time of Kulōttunga I, the Nidur temple was built of stone by a chief of Miḷalai.¹⁰ In the same reign Tiruvaiga¹¹ underwent the change from a brick to a stone structure. Rājādhirāja II (ac. A.D. 1171) built of stone the temple of Ilambayyāngōttur.¹² Probably even in the twelfth century, a large number of the *Tēvara* shrines were still of brick. After this first renewal during the later Pallava and Chōla periods, the *Nattuk-kottai Chetties* have made another general renewal in the recent centuries.

When the temples were renewed, the inscriptions on them were copied down and re-engraved after renewal.¹³ It is expressly stated in one place that the inscription was a copy of an older one. The temple at Kurrālam in Tinnevely District has been sung by Sambandhar. It was apparently a stone temple in the time of Parāntaka I¹⁴ Chōla, for, some of his inscriptions in Vetteluttu were found there by Rājarāja I. This Rājarāja renewed the temple which was in a dilapidated condition. After he finished the repairs,

¹ *M.E.R.*, 1913, p. 84.

² *Ibid.*, 1909, p. 87.

³ *Ibid.*, 1915, p. 96.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1925, p. 80.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1913, p. 96.

⁶ *M.E.R.*, 1915, p. 98.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1890, p. 4; 1895, p. 5; 1911, p. 75.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1918, p. 144.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1895, p. 5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1911, p. 67.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1895, p. 5.

¹² *Ibid.*, 1915, p. 97.

¹³ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xviii, p. 8.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1911, p. 73.

he caused those inscriptions to be re-engraved. Our temples have served so many purposes, not the least important of which is they contain eternal records of our past history.

CHAPTER VI.—THE STYLE OF THE TEMPLES

At first temples were erected like houses with mud, brick and timber and tiled roofs were put over them. Many of the temples in Malabar and the temples of our village Gods and Goddesses are still of the same materials. Some of the temples of *Tēvāra* fame had mud floors in the seventh century as Appar refers to the smearing of the temple floor with cowdung water as sacred service.¹ The Kūram temple had a tiled roof in the seventh century A.D.²

The houses of the earliest times must have been on the same plan as the Dolmens, the abodes of the dead and receptacles for their offerings. They are of a simple style and dark inside. Three walls and one flat roof over them do not require any extraordinary skill in construction. Curiously, at Kambadaru near Kalyānadrug, old Dolmens³ have been set up as Saiva shrines.

Origin

Due to the influence of Buddhism, a *stūpa* was added to the simple Dolmen over the spot where the deity was placed. Over this *stūpa* or *vimāna* was the *kalasa* in the place of the Buddhist umbrella. So the ancient Tamil temple consisted of two parts, the *Garbha Gṛiha* containing the *Līnga* which was placed on the relics of some great dead just like the Buddhist relic, and a small space leading into it. The Buddhist *stūpa* is solid masonry work containing within it the casket of relics. Whereas, the Hindu *stūpa* was hollow above the image of God. Is it not the reason, the origin of the temple in the Dolmen and the *stūpa*,⁴ why the sanctum in the Hindu temple is dark? If the sanctum has to be traced to the tomb-cell which was in imitation of the hermit's cell and the hut of those days, the *prākāra* wall has to be evolved out of the railing round the *stūpa* which was in imitation of the circle of stones in a cromlech the primitive grave.

Mādakkōyil early in Tamil Nādu

But, from early times, it is quite likely that there were storeyed temples in South India. The Mādakkōyil might have been peculiarly Tamil and Machu (மச்சு) is a pure Tamil word meaning terrace or storey. A reference to the earliest archæological remains in Mohenjo-Daro leaves no doubt in our minds that temples were old. Besides, the existence of Buddhist *Tōpes* mentioned to have existed in Pāndya and near Kānchi as early as the times of Asoka and later on in places like Amarāvati⁵ with railings and gateways

¹ *Tēv.* vi. 43. எஃது.

² *M.A.R.*, 1915-16, p. 29.

³ *Ibid.*, 1888, September 11, p. 3; 1907-8, p. 2.

⁴ *S.I.I.*, vol. i.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1915-16, 29.

with sculptures on them must have exercised a profound influence on Tamil Saiva temple building. So it is no wonder that Sambandhar sings of very big temples,¹ *Gōpuras* reaching the heavens² and walls as high!³ There are many references to the walls round the temples, ornamented *Gōpuras*⁴ and big *Vimānas*.⁵

Appar's Types

Appar seems to refer to several kinds of temples.⁶ *Perunkōyil*, *Karakkōyil*, *Jnalarkōyil*,⁷ *Ilankōyil*, *Manikkōyil*, and *Ālakkōyil* are mentioned by him. At this time it is very difficult to distinguish these different types. The first was evidently the Chengam type. The second was probably a type of stone temple (சாற்கோயில்). *Jnalarkōyil* was probably a temple of a kind of wood called *Jnalal*. An inscription of Rājārāja at Kadambur⁸ refers to *Ilankōyil*. This Kadambur *Kōyil* is referred to as *Karakkōyil* in *Tēvāram*. Mr. Venkayya suggests that *Ilankōyil* may mean the temple of Subrahmanya but it is not warranted by the above reference in Appar's hymn.⁹ So it may be taken to mean a small temple as contrasted with the *Perunkōyil*. *Ālakkōyil* may refer to temples built over *Lingas* once sheltered by the banyan tree or to places where the God had still in *Tēvāra* days, no better habitation than the shade of the tree. *Manikkōyil* seems to be a particularly beautiful type as the temple of Madura is so called by Sambandha.¹⁰

Mahābalipur—Traces of Wood Work

The earliest buildings that have come down to us in the Tamil land are the Pagodas of Mahābalipur¹¹ which must give us a clue into the architectural styles of earlier times. Their plan and style were in imitation of those of the wood temples of earlier days, for even where it is unnecessary as the material used was stone, the architects have indicated the beams and cross-beams in stone as if they were building with wood. The chariots for the Gods were built in imitation of the temples the only difference between the two being the former were dragged round the temple while the latter were stationary. Their style of construction was the same. Any one attending the annual festival lasting for ten days in any

¹ *Tēv*, ii 139, கோட்டை ; i 32, ஓரூர்.

² *Il* 40, மகேந்திரபுரம், *Il* 42, ஏட்டம், *Il* 63, திருக்காவுர், i 90, கைந்தூர், iv. 12, அக்காறு.

³ *Il* 4, தெய்வகோயில், *Il* 23, மருகை. ⁴ *Il* 149, ஆலவாய, *Il* 112, மெய்யவாயல்.

⁵ *Il* 148, வீழ்மலை.

⁶ vi. 100, அடைவு.

⁷ குரங்கோயில். குரங்கு IS குருகுமரம்.

⁸ *M.E.R.*, 1904, p. 6.

⁹ Also cf. கோட்டை இரங்கோயில் in *Tēvāram*. *Ilankōyil* is a temporary shrine put up for worship while a temple is under repair, according to the *Tamil Lexicon*.

¹⁰ *Il* 149, ஆலவாய. “கோயிலுக்கு குழாய்க்கு கோயில்.”

¹¹ Fergusson, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, vol. 1 *Memoirs of the Arch Survey of India*, Nos 17 and 33. See also Burges, *Bud Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, Plates vi, vii, xi, xii, xviii, xxi, xxv, xxvii, p. 31, for the origin of the style. See also P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar *The Pallavas (Tamil)*.

South Indian Saiva temple will notice different kinds of *rathas* or chariots used on different days for carrying the Gods in procession. Three distinct types at least may be noticed of which one is dragged in procession on the fifth day and another on the tenth. The style in which these two chariots pyramidal and conical are constructed were two of the ancient styles of temple-building.

Different Styles there

The *Draupadi Ratha* resembles the gold-covered shrine of Nataraja, the temple *par excellence* in the Tamil Country. The roof of *Bhima Ratha* is like that of the *Chaitya* at Chezrāla displaying skilful stonework. The *Dharmarāja Ratha* is a *Vihāra* with many storeys. The *Ganēsa Ratha* was the model for all the Dravidian *Gopuras*. The *Gopura* or gateway excelled the inner shrine or *stupa* in post-Buddhist architecture. The *Sahadeva Ratha* has its imitations in the apsidal ended temples of Oragadam (six and half miles south-east of Chingleput) and Gudimallam.¹

CHAP. VII.—PALLAVA SCULPTURES

There are indications, that wood-carving was familiar in ancient Tamil land. The images of village Gods are still of wood. Casting bronze models seems to have been as old as the Ādichanallur finds. In all the *Tēvāra* temples there were festivals with chariot processions which are referred to in many places by the saints. In fact, festivals and processions were familiar in the age of Asoka who mentions them in his inscriptions. Rock Edict IV speaks of heavenly spectacles of processional cars, elephants, illuminations, etc. So in the pre-*Tēvāram* period there must have been bronze or copper images of Gods for *utsavas*. The reference in the Maski edict to the false Gods is obviously to Siva, Vishnu and other deities.

The hymnners are never tired of repeating about Siva being attended by Vishnu and Brahma. We do not know if the *Somas-kanda* carved behind the *Linga*² in the Pallava Siva temples was in imitation of the already existing custom or not. At least, the placing of Siva and Vishnu side by side seems to be as old as Chengam and Pēy Alwar, and the cult of Sankaranārāyana dates back to those days. According to the *Āgamas*, the images of Brahma and Vishnu may be placed in the Siva temple. According to the *Linga Purāna*, Siva was attended by Brahma and Vishnu. The constant references to the feats of Siva in *Tēvāram* and the beautiful sculptures of *Gangādhara*, *Kirātārjuniya*, etc., by the Pallavas speak alike of the remarkable *Purānic* revival in which kings and saints shared.

From the archæological evidence supplied by the sculpture of *Somaskanda*, we may regard the innumerable references in *Tēvāram* to Siva attended by Brahma and Vishnu and to Siva as

¹ *M.A.R.*, 1914-15, pp. 6, 33.

² *Ibid.*, 1919-20, 1920-21. In the *Dharmarāja Ratha*, the Kailāsanātha, Shore, Pānamalai and Sāluvankuppam temples.

Ardhanāri as not merely formal but well founded in fact.¹ Since the saints have not sung on the Pallava temples, we may presume that in the pre-Pallava brick structures, images of Brahma and Vishnu were placed in the Siva temples. At a certain stage after this Siva and Vishnu temples existed side by side as at Tillai, Jambukēśvaram, Pallavanesvaram,² etc.

The broad-mindedness of the people and kings of those days can thus be amply illustrated, though instances are not wanting where both occasionally took to persecution. Even during the heyday of Buddhism and Jainism, the Siva and Vishnu temples were not destroyed. Kūṇ Pāṇḍya, a Jain, had a Saiva queen and a Saiva minister. Even in Jaina and Buddhist centres, Sambandhar could boldly denounce his enemies. The later sectarian spirit among the Hindus had no trace during this period of revival when all the Saiva and Vaishnava forces were arrayed against their common rivals. Kings like Mahēndra Pallava built temples for all the Gods, Hindu and Jain. He placed Vishnu images in Siva temples which custom can be traced back to Chengan who is praised by the Saiva and the Vaishnava alike. There are no contemptuous references to Siva or Vishnu by the Vaishnavas or Saivas. Only, each sect considered its God as supreme and allowed the other equal liberty of thought. It is a far-off cry from the tolerant Pēy Ālwar to the degenerate Pillai Perumāḷ Iyengār.

CHAPTER VIII.—THE METHOD OF WORSHIP

The *Āgamas* were written only after temples, images and worship had come into existence. They emphasized, elaborated and stereotyped the old system of worship. The *Āgamas* were, however, growing as late as the seventh century A.D. as there is mention of *Srmanā* persecution as one of the festivals and of the singing of *Tēvāram*.³

Worship as Rājōpachāra

About the seventh century A.D. according to the Kūram grant,⁴ the present system of worship was in existence. Lands were granted by Paramēśvaravarman I for the Siva temple he built at Kūram. The temple was built of stone but roofed with burnt tiles, a combination of the new and old materials. The lands were for providing for the *archana*, *dhūpa*, *deepārādhana* and other *upachāras* for the God. So the present-day worship existed in the seventh century, the age of Sambandhar.⁵ If further proofs were needed, there are many references in *Tēvāram* to show that this worship known as *Āgamaic* had become familiar by that time. Sambandhar

¹ i. 121, புறநகல், ஸௌரேசுவரத்தி ஸௌரேசுவரத்தி கெட்டுக்கொண்ட.

ii. 83, பெருமையுடைய, கண்ணகரே பரமேஸ்வரனாய் அருளே பரமேஸ்வரனாய்.

iii. 138, வீதியிலே, பரதிசூரனாய், அருளே பரமேஸ்வரனாய், பரமேஸ்வரனாய்.

² Recently Vishnu stone images are said to have been dug up very near Pallavanesvaram.

³ T. A. Gopinātha Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, vol. 1, i, Introd., p. 56.

⁴ S.I.I., vol. 1, No. 151. ⁵ *Tēv.* iii 94, கண்ணகரே, stanza 1.

mentions the *Āgamas*¹ and the three categories² of *Saiva Siddhānta*. What are now known as *Āgamaic* terms were familiar to the hymners. The various *upachāras* to Siva who was treated like the king as his temple was like the palace, seem as old as the Tamil word *Kōyil*. Bathing and dressing the idol, offering it incense, *pūja* and food, singing and dancing in his presence and carrying him in processions on *vāhanas* and in chariots—these summed up the *rajōpachāra* to God. Going round the temple, i.e., circumambulation³ was considered sacred in the time of Appar. The thousand names of Siva were pronounced in the course of *pūja* which are however as old as the *Mahābhārata*. Innumerable instances may be given for the existence of processions and festivals⁴ which are found even to-day. Brahmans are said to have done *pūja* in certain temples in the seventh century⁵ and as to the other temples we may say the same thing though we lack definite information on the point. There were plenty of Brahmans⁶ in Tamil Nādu in Sambandhar's days celebrating sacrifices, chanting the Vēdas, learning by rote the existing literature and occasionally adding to it.

Was this *Āgamaic* worship Āryan and northern and was it introduced in the south by the Pallavas? Was it developed in the north and as a perfect system, suddenly introduced in the south, or, was it a gradual evolution among the un-Āryans?

Worship un-Āryan and un-Vēdic in Origin

It must be borne in mind that *Āgamaic* worship was un-Vēdic, pre-Vēdic and un-Āryan. It was the result of slow growth and attained all its present features about the seventh or eighth century. It is a wrong procedure to take up all its present features and challenge us to prove their existence in ancient times among the un-Āryans. The method is unhistorical as a system comes into existence only as a result of long evolution. The *Āgamaic* worship has its origin in bloody un-Vēdic sacrifices and devil dances before the tombs and Dolmens and was purified by passing through the crucible of Buddhism and Jainism which it invaded and led on to Mahāyāna which owes much to the pre-existing system in its religious and intellectual aspects. No greater error can be committed than to consider worship Āryan because the *Āgamas* are in Sanskrit, the language of the Āryan and cultured Brahmans. The Sanskrit language has been used by the Brahmans to describe the admittedly un-Āryan *Sakti*-worship, charms and black magic. Are the latter on that account Āryan? The Brahmanical influence is

¹ iii. 72, ஒற்றியூர்-ஆகம செல்வனா.

² i. 16, முதுகுன்றம், வினையாததோர் பரிசில் வரு பசுபாச வேதனையெண், iii. 50, ஆலவரம்.

³ iv. 12, அங்கமரலை.

⁴ i. 43, இடைமருது, பூசம்.

i. 76, தேணிபுரம், தேர்.

ii. 58, மயிலரப்பூர்.

iii. 81, சுச்சிநெறிக்காரைக்காடு, தேர்.

iv. 27, ஆரூர்.

iv. 123, ஆரூர்.

⁵ ii. 41, பழுவூர், அந்நனாகனான் மலையாளவரேத்தும். Again, மலையாளத் தொழுதேத்தி.

iii. 101, வீழிமிழலை, செந்தமிழர் தெய்வமறைநாவர் செழுநதலை தரித்தவவரோ டந்தமிழ் குணத்தவர்க ளர்ச்சனைகள் செய்ய.

v. 156, பட்டாரகிலென். The reference may not be to *archakas* specially.

⁶ See i. 44, அன்பில்; ii. 51, ஆக்கூர்; iii. 11, வீழிமிழலை; iii. 73, சுரத்தமங்கை, iii. 106, சுல்லூர்.

traceable in the refinement that came to characterize the once hideous, orgiastic and absurd *Tantric* rites. A phraseology, a system, and refinement were introduced by the Brahmans fallen from the Vēdic path, into the indigenous Phallic and *Sakti*-cults. The Vēdas have been quoted to prove the un-Āryan origin of the Phallus¹. The *Mahabharata* has been quoted to prove the un-Āryan origin and associations of the *Dēvi*.² The *Karma Purāna* and Kumarila Bhatta³ clearly say that *Pasupata*, *Bhairava* and other systems were un-Āryan, non-Vēdic and designed by God only for those outside the Vēdic pale.

History of Worship—from the Lower to the Higher Form

Let us take some of the features of the present-day worship and trace their history back. Enough has been said to prove that temples and images can be traced much earlier than Kautilya and Asoka. *Rājapachāra*, the present worship, is as old as the Tamil word *Kōyil*. No less an authority than Mr Kanakasabai⁴ describes the religious service in the temples 1,800 years ago in the following words: 'The religious service in the Brahmanic temples consisted in bathing and dressing the idols in the morning, adorning them with jewels and flowers, and offering them fruits, sweets and cooked rice two or three times a day and putting the idol to sleep at night and repeating the names and praises of the deity a certain number of times on each occasion'. Again, he writes, 'Siva was considered the greatest of the four Gods and his temples were the most stately and august of the public edifices'.

Ever since the temple was built, somebody must have been put in charge of it to do the *upachāras* to God. Priesthood is much more developed and powerful in primitive communities. In civilized Tamil Nādu 1,800 years ago, the priests constituted one of the five assemblies attending on the king. That Brahmans were attached to Siva temples in the 'Sangham age' has been established already. Whether there was free worship before it is a question which cannot be easily answered. The Vēdas call the Dasyu priestless. Kāsi (Benares) and Srīśa'lam, two of the oldest Siva shrines, have free worship even to day. Buddhist *stupa* worship or *pāda* worship was free and open to all. Then, at what stage were Brahmans introduced into the temples?

There are doubtful references in *Tēvāram* to the system of free worship. Probably, with the flow of Brahmanism in the south, the kings anxious that the Gods should be regularly waited upon, put Brahmans as *archakas* attracted by their learning and austerity. That is the reason why the *Gurukkal* Brahmans form a separate sub-caste and are considered as very low in the social scale. For, the path of worship was un-Vēdic and un-Āryan in origin. Siva had no longer a carnal appetite and the deities who still had it were not attended to by the vegetarian Brahmans.

¹ *The Sisinaderas*. See also P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar *The Stone Age in India* (Madras University) for the neolithic origin of the Phallus.

² H. Krishna Sastri, *ante*, p. 223.

³ Chanda *Indo Aryan Races*.

⁴ *The Tamils 1800 Years Ago*, p. 231.

What was ordained for the Brahman, however, was the Vēda, and what was ordained for others¹ was worship of Siva (and other Gods). That the bulk of the Brahmans later on adopted *Āgamaic* idol worship at home is no argument to prove that at first they had no repugnance to it. Whether we take the Brahmans and non-Brahmans or Āryas and un-Āryas as belonging to one racial stock or not, this much is certain. In the earliest literature of India, the Vēdas, the authors describe their nature-worship with hymns and sacrifices through Agni and condemn the rites and worship of the Dasyus. In the latter is found the origin of the fireless *Āgamaic* cult with *tantras* instead of *mantras*. On account of the decline of sacrifices, Brahmans also took to the system of worship. So it is said that Siva created *Pasupata* and other systems for the non-Vēdic.

The 3000

The 3000 of Tillai are perhaps the oldest Brahman community in the Tamiland. They are *Dikshitaras* or the initiated. They keep a top-knot like the *Chōliya* Brahmans and the Nāyars of Malabar. This peculiar system of tying the hair seems ancient. The *Kudimithēvan* of Kannappar, and the Lords of Kudimiyamalai² and Kalattur,³ all equally old have a similar top knot. The Nambudris also wear their hair in a like fashion. *The 3000* consider Nataraja or 'the king of dancers' as one of themselves. They alone can do *pūja* to him. They alone are the initiated in his eyes. They are highly praised by 'the Three' and classified by the third hymner as Saiva saints. Tillai is known as *Kōyil*, i.e. the temple. Tiruvenkādu, a part of ancient Puhār was *Ādi* Tillai according to tradition. Probably, after the destruction of Puhār, the 3000 shifted to Tillai. That was why Tillai was the *Kulakshētra* of the Chōlas. So the 3000 are a very old Brahman community initiated for Siva worship.

The *Āgamaic* injunction is that only a Brahman and that too, an initiated one alone, can do *pūja* to the idol in the temple. It need not be repeated that this came about only slowly. Sambandhar's references to Brahman *archakas* have been given above. His hymns refer to the devotees carrying flowers and water for God but it is probably a survival of a fast disappearing system, if it is granted that the references are to the free and irregular *pūja*⁴ of his

¹ iv, 14 சமச் சிவரஹப் பதிகம்

அந்தணர்க்கருங்கலம் அருமறைவாறங்கம்
சங்கருக்கருங்கலம் சமச் சிவரஹவே.

² M.E.R., 1912; or, Are they of the shape of the primitive Gudimallam *linga*?

³ Ibid.

⁴ i, 77, செங்காட்டக்குடி.

பாலினுன்று நெய்யாற் பழத்திறை பயின்றட்டி.
துவிலுன் மணமாலே கொணர்ந்தடியார் புரிந்தேத்த.

i, 68, செடுக்கனம்

பொன்னடியே பரலிகாரும் பூவொடு
சீர்சுமக்கு நின்னடியார்கள்.

ii, 51. ஆக்கூர்

iv, 1, அதிகைவீட்டானம்

சலம்பூவொடு துபமறநதறியேன்
தமிழோடிசை பாடன் மறந்தறியேன்.

time As early as *Manimekalai* Brahmins are associated with temples. 'Ye Brahmins! Perform your services in all your temples from the great shrine of Siva to the small fanes of the local deities' (1)

It is said that most of the sixty-three saints were uninitiated and so initiation and, what it involves, the system of *Gurus*, were only a growth of the age of Sambandhar or even later Only a few of the saints were *Ādisanas*¹ All were born devotees who set love above rituals and formulas, that love which was lacking in the *Sramana* who was on that account no better than a low born in the eyes of Appar² Love and service to Siva and His *Bhaktas* was the great qualification of the saints

Mūlar—the root of worship

Tirumūlai, an old *yogi*, is the author of *Tirumantiram* which reveals a knowledge of the *Āgamas* There is little doubt that he was a very ancient *Guru* of the Tamils who lived up to a ripe old age and was the *mūla* or root of their *bhakti* and worship If it is a fact that the elaborate worship that Mr Kṛṇakāsabai describes existed in the 'Sangham age', then Mūlar must have lived long before it His statement about the identity of love and God must have inspired the nation to turn to the path of devotion The Tamils had many spiritual kings or *Gurus* whose remains were crowned by phalli, tombs, or temples In the 200 temples sung by Sambandhar, the same system of worship described by Mūlar must have prevailed

In primitive times, human and animal sacrifices must have been common, though human sacrifices³ ceased early *Manimekalai* mentions human sacrifices to Durga Till recently, the Khonds, a Dravidian tribe, offered human sacrifices to the Earth Goddess The survival of bloody sacrifices in later times even to the higher Gods is reminiscent of the old system The *Mahābhārata* mentions animal sacrifices to Siva Bloody sacrifices have survived till the present day in Orriyur and Srisaīlam The *Kongu Viras* used to cut off their heads and tongues and offer them to the God of Srisaīlam In Kṛṣṇa Deva Raya's time, his officer Sānthalinga⁴ cut off the heads of all the Jains living there as a sacrifice to Siva The Goddess there is *Kālī* and thousands of goats and buffaloes are sacrificed to her every year Such bloody rites were thoroughly

iv, 12 அமரமரீ, கையாங்குந்தடி

v 149, இலங்கையுரை

செய்யும் பரதம் சென்றடரடி நினைந்திலர்
யாக்கசேறி மலரபறித்திடமுலர்

vi, 43, ஆரத், புலவர் தனமுள்ளைவிட்டு

மெருக்குமிட்டு பூமலை புனைத்தேத்தி புறந்தயமாடி
தலைவாக்க குகிட்டு கத்தாரடி

vi, 130, தனி-அருப்போடு மலரபறித்திட

மெருகுந்ரு அடவிசரடே

¹ i.e. Saivas from ancient times

² சேனாவலரது சீர, Cf. Sambandhar iii 101 கையாங்குந்தடி கையாங்குந்தடி

³ Cf. the *Āryan Purushamedha*

⁴ *M E R* 1915 p 93, also ins 20 of 1915 Srisaīlam

changed by Buddhism and Jainism which had influenced for good even the cult of the *Durdēvatās*, the village deities, which have become generally vegetarian and only occasionally flesh-eating. The religion of the Buddha, due to the overwhelming influence of the primitive worship, developed into Mahāyāna which countenanced worship—*pūja*, incense, procession, a priest in charge, etc.,—i.e., roughly into the un-Āryan system minus the horrible rites. When Saiva worship revived after Buddhism, it was much purer.

Sankara helps evolution to the higher

The work of the great Sankara and his successors has been in the same direction of elevating and purifying Saiva worship. 'If the worship of *Kālī*, *Durga* and *Bhairava* was common throughout the country in early times and if it has survived in other parts of the country down to our own day, the freedom of South India from *Tantric* ceremony and the purity and loftiness of South Indian religion are due to their work. And when the Saiva revivalists appeared on the scene, they found everywhere the sweet and gentle aspects of a loving and graceful *Īsvari*, and no terrible *Durga* or *Chāmundi* demanding sacrifices in blood; the ever auspicious Siva everywhere in His joyous mystic dance identified with *Ānanda*, the innermost essence of all animate nature.'¹

The stories of Kannappar,² Kaliyar,³ Kanampullar⁴ and Siruthondar⁵ serve to remind us of the prevalence of the sacrifice of the human body to Siva in primitive times. The substitution of cocoanuts for heads and praying and fasting for lashing and hook-swinging has been a tardy process and due to the combined efforts of Āryanism and Buddhism, Siva and *Dēvī* were transformed from their original habits and associations.

Āgamaic worship is a system of signs rather than of *mantras*. The idea of solemnity associated with the burial mound, the origin of Siva, and the receptacle of the remains of the *yogi* ever absorbed; in meditation accounts for the worship of signs and symbols.

PART IV.—THE GROWTH OF SECTARIANISM AND SOME IMPORTANT DATES

CHAPTER I. BHAKTI IS PRE-SAMBANDHA

THE *Bhakti mārga* is the only easy one for the bulk of the people. They cannot acquire sufficient *jñāna*. So the path of devotion to God was the people's road to salvation which they continued to take unaffected by Āryan metaphysics. The Āryan influence was to emphasise the un-Āryan cult, as the path of Vedic sacrifices was denied to them.

¹ N. Venkataraman, *The Great Sankara and His Successors in Kanchi*.

² Sacrificed his eyes to God.

³ Used his blood as oil for lighting before God.

⁴ Burnt the hair of his head for the same purpose.

⁵ Sacrificed his child to Siva.

Sanskrit *Purāṇas* and the Tamil *Periappurāṇa* point to the south as the home of devotion in *Kalijuga* ¹ The impression that we derive from the purely Tamil words for God and temple is the same Some of the earliest Saiva saints have to be assigned to the centuries before the birth of Christ Kāṇappār, the ornament of the *Nāgakula* Chandi the Brahman boy one of the *Panchamūrtis* Pēy, the terrible Chetty sage and Muṭṭu the yogi of Sathanur belong to a very early period It is peculiar that some of the earliest saints are drawn from the lower classes and the majority of those whom Sundarā thought fit to include in his list of devotees are also from the same orders ² If this does not prove anything else it indicates at least that *Bhakti* in the Tamil land was at first popular outside the Brahmanical caste

There was no caste or sex distinction among the *Bhaktas* Thus here also the Aryan Vaidic influence cannot be traced The un-Aryan religion strengthened by the Buddhist continued the idea of the community of the faithful in which even the *Panchama* caste had its representatives ³ How is it we have only in the Tamil country such a galaxy of Saiva and Vaishnava devotees drawn mainly from the non Brahmanical orders from the early centuries? At this period such notions of equality and devotion to God seem to be peculiarly southern

What is *Bhakti*?

The only standard of merit was devotion to Śiva who was the father and mother of all His devotees He alone could wash away the sins and give them salvation from *samsāra* All the waters of the sacred *Ganga* cannot purify them Repeating the sacred books from cover to cover will only result in physical exhaustion The due observance of rites fasts and ceremonies will not reserve for them berths in heaven ⁴ But true bodily service to God, and intense love towards Him as our only relation in the world ⁵ are a sure passport to the land of bliss What Pey prays for to end births, and if born never to forget God expresses the ideal of a *Bhakta* ⁶ Like Muṭṭu the shepherd Pey was an ancient sage who worshipped Śiva undergoing horrible penances and thus amply deserving the title Pēy (demoness) The devotee of Śiva though he may be a leper and eater of beef is held in higher esteem by Appar than a non devotee ⁷ He expresses the idea of the community of the faithful whatever their caste Hymning to God was

¹ *Periya* vol 1 p 24 தென்மேல்நாடு புகழ்ந்த தெய்வம் Dr S K Iyengar *Vaiṣṇavism in South India* p 8 quotes *Sri Bhāgavata* p 11 quotes the *Padma Purāṇa*

² *Periya* i Introd 15 16 Brahmins 6 Kings 5 Chiefs 5 Vaisyas 13 Vellalas 2 Shepherds 9 Other lower castes—one fisherman one washerman one potter one oilmonger one hunter one weaver one toddy tapper and two *Ādi Dravidas*

³ Nandan and Panan

⁴ 1 65 ஸ்ரீமதேவம் 11 3 கவுண்டி st 11 v 47 ஸ்ரீமதேவம் st 6 v 109 மரபேவ st 3 v 156 பரமசுந்தரிக்குறடொருதேவம்

⁵ 14 12 அபகமே vi 130 தனி அபகம் வந்தம் 8

⁶ *Periya*, i p 641 cf also *ibid* ii pp 199 and 800

⁷ vi 131 தனி அபகம் st 10

as old¹ as *Bhakti* as far as we can trace it and might have been imitated from the *Vedins* who first condemned the un-Aryas as hymnless. Pēy the ancient woman-sage has left us a few hymns which are held as sacred as the *Tēvāram*.

CHAPTER II—THE AGE OF SAMBANDHAR

The service rendered by Mr. P. Sundaram Pillai and Mr. Venkayya in fixing the date of Sambandhar in the middle of the seventh century A.D. cannot be overrated.² Recently Mr. Shāma Sāstri has tried to bring down this date to the eighth century.³ But the Jinasēna who was the opponent of Sambandhar according to him does not find mention in the lists of Jaina teachers given by Sambandhar and Sundarar. Without traversing his grounds, we shall record here certain new data from the *Tēvāram* which may lead to confirm our accepted date.

The *Tēvāram* is a valuable source for history but unfortunately contains only few dynastic references. It is a genuine document as its history can be traced back without a break to the age of Nambi (tenth century A.D.) and before it to the age of Sundara (ninth century) who mentions the hymning activities of the first two.⁴ While the hymns were sung, they were written down on palm leaves⁵ which were probably collected and deposited in the temple of Tillai. When Nambi took them for publication, several leaves had been eaten away by white ants. That is why we find some hymns without a few lines.⁶ Tradition is equally strong on the point that some hymns were irretrievably lost. Some temples have been mentioned by Sambandhar and Appar but there are no extant hymns on them. For example, Nannilam (S.I.Ry.) a temple built by Chengan is mentioned by Appar but has no hymn either by him or his younger contemporary. The discovery of an epigraph of eleven Tamil verses by Sambandhar in Tiruvīdāivāyil⁷ affirms that our tradition is no lying gabble. This hymn is not contained in the present collection of the Saiva psalms by Nambi.

Sēkilār mentions Siruttonda as a Pallava commander who captured, plundered and burnt Vātāpi.⁸ After rendering this service, he retired to his native place, built a temple there and spent the rest of his days in devotion. He met and entertained Sambandhar who at his request sang a hymn on his temple called Ganapatisvara⁹. It was so called because it contained the famous

¹ Cf. iv. 1, தமிழோடிசைபாட மறத்தறியேன் so hymning was old in Appar's day.

² *Tamilian Antiquary*, vol. i, No. 3.

³ *Proc. of the Or. Conf.*, 1924, p. 233.

⁴ vii. 73, புன்குச் ; vii. 83, கோலக்கா ; vii. 16, நின்றியூச், cf. *Periya.*, i, Introd. p. 47, for the traditional number of hymns sung by the three.

Sambandhar ... 16,000 384 extant.

Appar ... 49,000 307 „

Sundarar ... 38,000 100 „

⁵ iii. 42, எடகம் st. 12 ; iii. 141, கழுமலம் st. 12 ; *Periya.*, ii, pp. 289 and 291.

⁶ ii. 23, மழபாடி, st. 11 ; ii. 123, காழி ; iii. 94, தேவூச் ; vi. 90, ஏகம்பம் ; vii. 85 கம்ப

யென்றபதிகம்.

⁷ *M.E.R.*, 1918, p. 8.

⁸ *Periya.*, ii, p. 641.

⁹ iii. 80, செங்கட்டம்குடி, வெந்தீரணி மாப்பன் இறந்தெரண்ட எவன்வேண்ட வந்தன்பு கங்கலிச்சாழி யடிசையே யடிபாவுஞ் ;

Vātāpī Ganapatī,¹ whom Siruttonda had brought from Vātāpī and whose praises are sung by musicians at the beginning of their entertainments. There is inscriptional evidence to show that Paramesvara also destroyed the city of Ranarasika i.e. Vikramaditya I Western Chalukya.² Anyway, the destruction of Vātāpī by the Pallava took place after A.D. 641, the date of the Chinese pilgrim's visit to the court of Pulakēsin II.

Tradition, indirectly confirmed here and there, makes Appar a contemporary of Sambandhar. Appar lived eighty-one years, whereas the boy saint was sixteen at his death. When Appar met Sambandhar the child, he was very old, say about sixty-five.³ He was probably reconverted at thirty when he was a Dharmasena, a much coveted Jain title. In his hymns there are plenty of references to his life as a Jain and subsequent reconversion.⁴ There are also reminiscences of royal persecution of Appar.⁵ He did not fear the Jain king⁶ and he never more swerved from the Saiva path. It has been well established that this king was Pallava Mahēndravarman I (A.D. 600-625) because we know no other later Pallava who was first a Jain and was then converted to Saivism. If we take about A.D. 620 as the date of Mahēndra's conversion, Appar must have died about A.D. 670. Sambandhar was a child when Appar met him, say about A.D. 655.

The boy-saint refers to a combination of the three Tamil kings and friendliness among them.⁷ A contemporary king ruling in and round Shiyālī, obviously a Chōla, is said by Sambandhar to rule among friends⁸ meaning thereby that the neighbouring kings were friendly to him. The combination of the three might have been against the Pallava Mahēndravarman II. The supreme Pāndya,⁹ and the prosperous Chōla¹⁰ mentioned in the *Tēvāram* suggest that Narasiṃha's weak successor Mahēndra II was on the Pallava throne.

Sambandhar was a boy when he converted Kūṇ Pandya. He calls himself so before Mangaiyarkarasi, the Queen of Kūṇ.¹¹ The Pāndya is referred to often in his Madura hymns and some of the miracles in the presence of the king are alluded to. In his hymn

i 77, சொல்லடமருடி பொடிதருகு மிந்தொண்டக் கருச்செயும் பொருட்டாக கரு
கரப வீற்றிருத்தான் கணபதிசுவர்த்தான்

¹ *M. E. R.*, 1913, p. 88

² *S. I. I.*, vol. i, p. 9, No. 15, pp. 144 and 145

³ See Srinivasa Pillai's *Tamil Varāṇas*, Part II

⁴ iv. 1, செடிவெட்டினம்

iv. 6, ஆரம்பமொழி

iv. 131, மன்னவர்க்கேர ழுதறாடிய "refers to the conversion of his king

⁵ iv. 14, கமிகையப்பநிசம்

⁶ iv. 134 திருமதறத்த, சரணர்க்கும் குடிவலவேம் . பரவல்பெயரே
மருவார் referring to his king

⁷ ii 153, முக்சேவம் சீதின வமகேரீத் தென்கை, சொய்யம், வில்வகை
சேருஞ் சேவத்தகை செய்வெற்றேர் சொமையே, st 9

ii 153, முக்சேவம், st 5

i 81, புகைம், முறைபால் முடிசேர தென்கை சேர சேரமுத் டைம் கணகரும்,
மரவன் பித்தென்கை சேர சேரநகை போற்றின்கை

⁸ i 80, பரமபுரம்

கட்டர் கடுவ கத்தன கல்வினை யாதயந்த,

கெட்டி தடுத்த தங்கயல்கும் கெசை

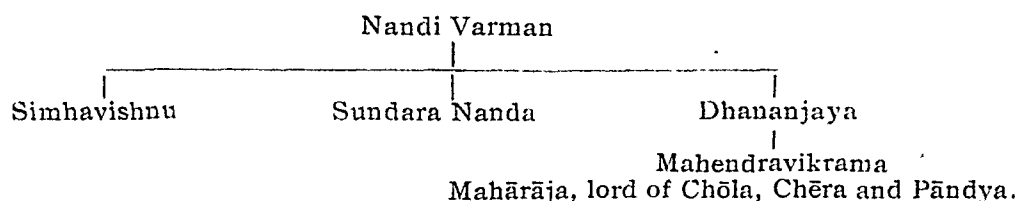
⁹ ii. 153, முக்சேவம், தென்கை சேர் வெழியகருகியு மோரு சொசேவினும்

¹⁰ iii 149, ஆகையம், மன்னெனா கிதமுன்னகை மன்னுமனி முடிச்சேரமுத தகையம்

¹¹ iii 50, ஆகையம், பரவல்பெயரே பரவல் கணக

on Mukkesvaram, he calls the Pāndya, ruler of Uraiyur and Vānchi also (i.e., the overlord of the Chōla and the Chēra).¹ Sundara speaks of the victory of Kūn over the Pallava at Nelvēli.² Sekkilar attributes the triumph to his recent conversion to Saivism, which easily won for him hegemony over the Chōla and Chēra. Could this have happened in the reign of Narasimhavarman I? It is not likely because of two reasons, Narasimha was a strong ruler and was a terror to the Chālukya, and secondly, Kūn Pāndya could not have come to the throne by A.D. 650. According to the Vēlvikudi grant,³ Kūn or Arikēsari Māravarman could have ascended the throne only after A.D. 650. For, Nedunjadaiyan, the donor, was the third king after him and made the gift in A.D. 767. If we take A.D. 650 as the date of his accession we have to assign 117 years to three or four kings which is not however unlikely. But, if we take into account the age of Sambandhar at the time of Kūn's conversion, the former could not have been above twelve and if we utilize the inference we have drawn above about Appar's date, we are led to the conclusion that the Pāndya revival began about A.D. 663. Probably at that time, Paramēsvaran I was engaged in the Chālukyan war which earned for him the *biruda* of 'destroyer of the City of Ranarasika'. So the victory of the Pāndya over the Pallava at Nelveli.

There is a hymn on Brahmapuram⁴ (= Shiyāli) by Sambandhar in which the saint gives the names of a number of kings who ruled over Shiyāli and the neighbouring parts. Dharma was the first king. Then came the flood. And after it came successively Valavan, Chandan, Nāgaraiyan and Nandan. Though it is possible to equate Chandan with Chandravarman a Pallava name, Kaḷaḷ-nāgaraiyan with Paramesvara, and Nandan with Nandivarman, it is not warranted by other facts known to us. Dharma, Killi (Valavan) and Nanda are stated to have benefited the temple of Srirangam by *Koilolugu*.⁵ They were Chōlas. Besides, there is a Sundarananda, ancestor of Srikanta Chōla according to an Erumbiyur inscription of the ninth century. Sundarananda was the uncle of Mahēndra Vikrama, a Chōla of the Ceded Districts⁶ who



¹ See above.

² vii. 51, தொண்டத்தொகை, இறைக்கொண்ட சித்தையால் நெல்வேலி கென்ற நிலை
செய்தொழுகுநன்.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xvii, p. 291.

⁴ i. 79-80 : எங்கோத்தருமன் மேலியாண்ட
பொருதேர் வலவன் மேலியாண்ட
தவச்செய் நெடுவேற் சண்டனாள்
கழல்நா கரையன் காவலாக
கட்டார் கடுவே சத்தனன்.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xl, p. 131.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xi, p. 337.

was the first in that dynasty to call himself Chola Mahārāja. So the dynasty in the Brahmapuram hymn was not Pallava but Chōla. The names of the kings might have been after their Pallava overlords.

The most interesting figure in the list is Sundarananda. Undoubtedly, the Chola existed in his homeland during the Pallava period though a branch ruled in Cuddapah. Pallava, Pandya and Chālukya inscriptions testify to it. If Sundarananda was Sambandha's contemporary Chola, then was he the father of Mangai, the Pandya queen? Mr. Shama Sastri quotes a tradition that the Pandyan queen was the daughter of Vikrama Chola. There is a Vikrama Chola Maharaja in the Ceded Districts inscriptions, the nephew of Sundarananda. It is very likely that Vikrama succeeded to the Chola homeland on the death of his uncle and married his daughter Mangai to Kun Pandya, say, when Sambandhar the child-saint was coming into prominence as a prodigy and incarnation. This explains the queen's invitation to Sambandhai to visit Jain Pandya. His descendant of Karikala was instrumental in spreading the religion of her fathers in that way. So the union and friendliness between the Chola and the Pandya. But the main difficulty is about the date of Vikrama. The epigraphist assigns Punyakumara, son of Vikrama, to the end of the eighth century. But it is very likely that Mahendra Vikrama was nearer Mahendra Pallava whose name he bore. Punyakumara bears titles in imitation of Mahendra's.

There is another small reference in *Tēvaram* to a king Atyanta whose queen was blessed with some favor by the Lord of Amathur.¹ *Atyanta* is a surname of Narasimha I and Narasimha II *alias* Rajasimha.²

There is a tradition that Tirumangai Ālvar was a contemporary of Sambandhar. The former lived 105 years and mentions in his *Periyatirumoli* the Pallava Kings Paramesvaravarman II, and Nandivarman and (the Rashtrakuta Danti?) Vararamēgha.³ So, if we place Tirumangai's death about A.D. 755 he must have been about seventeen years old at Sambandar's death. It is not therefore likely that the Ālvar, who ceased to be a robber and became a pilgrim at about thirty, had a religious controversy with Sambandhar. But it is possible that he was his contemporary. Born and bred at Tiruvah near Shiyali the birth place of the boy saint, Tirumangai's later activities must have been influenced by the latter's life in more ways than one.

Could Nandivarman Pallavamalla have been the contemporary of Sambandhar? Was he the Nanda referred to in the Brahmapuram hymn? Was Atyanta of the Āmathur hymn Narasimha II? Was (Ātirana)—Chanda of the Brahmapuram hymn Narasimha II? If we can locate Sambandhai in the reign of Nandivarman (a.c. 720 A.D.), then several difficulties will disappear. Tirumangai might have had a controversy with the boy saint Vikrama Chola of the Ceded Districts inscription assigned to the end of the eighth century by

¹ *சுந்தரனாந்தர சுவாமிகள் பற்றிய செய்திகள்*, 154 *சுந்தரனாந்தர*

² *Ep. Ind.* vol. xix, p. 105, also vol. x p. 4

³ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxv, *Tirumangai Ālvar* by Dr. S. K. Iyengar.

the epigraphist need not be shifted back to make him a contemporary of Kūn and Paramesvara Pallava I.

Besides, the Vetteluttu inscriptions of Pāndya of the eighth and ninth centuries give a long list of Jaina teachers showing the popularity of Jainism there. The Udayendiram plates¹ mention a combination of the three Tamil kings and friendliness among them. Sambandha's reference to the Pāndya must then be to Rājasimha, a Maravarman, devotee of Siva at Pandikodumudi and newly walled Kōḷi (Uraiyur) and Vanchi², i.e. newly conquered the Chōla and Chēra. There is a battle Nelvēli in the confused list of Nandivarman's battles in inscriptions and the hymn of Tirumangai. The Vēlvi-kudi grant mentions Rājasimha's victory over the Pallava.

But there are other and insuperable difficulties if we assign the boy-saint to the reign of Nandivarman. Siruttonda who retired from service either in Narasimha I's or Paramesvara I's reign (a.c. 655 A.D.) must be made to live till A.D. 720. Appar, the contemporary of Mahendra (a.c. 600 A.D.) must be made to live for more than a century. Besides, Nandivarman's Pāndya contemporary Rājasimha the Saiva married a Maḷava princess whereas the *Tēvāram* distinctly says that the Chōla Mangai was the Pāndya queen.

So it is not easy to shift Sambandhar to the eighth century with the available evidences. The important fact we have to bear in mind is that he lived only sixteen years. The Pallava dates are only approximate and it is not right to dogmatize on them.

CHAPTER III.—THE AGE OF SUNDARAR

The *Tēvāram* makes us understand that Sundarar was later than Appar and Sambandhar.³ In his hymns⁴ may be traced echoes of the philosophy of *Māya* and utter contempt for *Samsāra* probably vigorously preached by the Sankarāchārya of his day. No doubt the first two saints also refer with contempt to the body and to worldly life.

Sundarar refers in his hymn on Tirukothitti and Tirukovilur to a meeting of all the three Tamil kings in the Pāndya Court.⁵ Judging from what we know of the relationship between the Pāndya and the Chēra before Varaguna Pāndya (a.c. 862 A.D.), we cannot say that such a friendly meeting was possible at all after Kūn Pāndya and till Varaguna. Varaguna had the help of the Chōla and the Chēra against the Pallava. Here was founded the alliance between the three Tamil kings, devotees to Siva, which helped Āditya, probably identical with the nameless Chōla friend of Sundara, to revive the Chōla power in South India. Confusion has been created unnecessarily by putting one more Varaguna between Rājasimha and Srimāra.⁶ But, as Mr. K.V. Subramanya Iyer has

¹ *S.I.I.*, vol. ii, p. 372.

² Cf. Sambandhar's Mukkesvaram hymn.

³ *Tēv.* vii, 73, புனகூர்; vii 84, கோலக்கர்; vii. 87, நின்றியூர்; vii. 103, கேதாரம்.

⁴ *Tēv.* vii. 5, அருகைக்களம்; 8-9, எதி-கொய்யாடி; 10, ஆலூர்; 102-3, கேதாரம்.

⁵ vii. 3, முடியா லுலகாண்ட முலோதா முனனே.

⁶ Bigger Sinnamannur plates; *M.E.R.*, 1907, p. 63.

ingeniously suggested,¹ the Nedunjadaiyan donor of the Vēlvikudī grant may be identified for valid reasons with the first Varaguna of the large Sinnamannur plates.² Then there will be only one

Kadungoh		
Māra		
Seliyan	Big Sinnamannur	Pallava Genealogy
Arikēsari =	Arikēsari	Paramēsvara
Sadaiyan	Jatila	Narasimha II
Rājasimha	Rajasimha	Paramesvara II
Nedunjadaiyan (a c 767)	Varaguna	
Parama Vaishuava	Srimara	Nandi arman
	Varaguna	Danti
	a c 862 A D	
		Nandi of Tellaru
		A D 835-865
		Nripatunga

Varaguna the Saiva in the Pandya list, viz, he who succeeded in A D 862. It is stated by Sēkkilār that the then Chōla was a son-in-law of the then Pandya. This Pāndya according to the story in *Tiruvilayadal Purāna* was the patron of Bhanabhadra who was given a note to Chēraman Perumāl for money. So, Sēkkilār's Pandya contemporary of Chēramān was Varaguna.³

Besides, we learn from his inscriptions that he raided Tondai and thus made the Pallava fight him at Tellaru. Again, Varaguna is said to have been defeated at Palaiyarai near Kumbakōnam. Probably in his hymn on *Purambiyam*, Sundara refers to the battle between the Pāndya and the Pallava who was 'ruler of all the land surrounded by the ocean'.⁴ In his hymn on Tillai, he again refers to the Pallava who ruled the earth and to whom some kings did not pay their due tribute.⁵ Due to the combination of the Tamil kings⁶ suggested in one of his hymns and to the expeditions of Varaguna into the Pallava territory, the position of the Pallava was unenviable.

¹ *Sketches of the Deccan*, vol 1, p 103

² Velvikudī, *M E R*, 1908 pp 62-8

³ *M E R* 1911, p 59. It is very remarkable that in an inscription of Rājakesarivarman (Āditya I?) at Tillaisthanam, a gift of Varaguna Perumānar is recorded. A record just above that mentions a Sēraman probably surnamed Kakkandan.

⁴ vii 45, படைபெயர்த் படைநகர்த் துழைப் படைக்குத் தாண்டவம்

⁵ viii 118 கந்தவன காவியுடை
வுதையர்ப் பல்லவத்துத் திறநகர
கந்தவன மந்தனஞ்செய்து

⁶ vii 3, சேரத்திடையுத் சேரநகரம்,

vii 20, சேரபத்தரஞ்சு

கடல் கந்தைக் கடத்த செற சேரபுல

But, Nandi soon overcame all his foes at Tellāru and other places. In the famous list of Saiva saints, Sundara mentions Kalarsingan, (i.e., hero) as if he were his contemporary. Kalarsingan was the lord of the whole earth.¹ The victor at Tellāru was a real hero or Kalarsingan. That Sundara's contemporary was a powerful king is also hinted at in another hymn.² *Nandikalambakam* and *Perundēvanār* have described Nandi as a great hero.³

Curiously enough, our conjecture seems to be confirmed by the *Vēlūpālaiyam* grant,⁴ the most noteworthy of the Pallava charters. It begins with an invocation to Siva, and next refers to Parabrahma, an echo of Sankara's preaching. The grant leaves us in no doubt about Nandi's great devotion to Siva.⁵ His successor Nripatunga invokes Vishnu in his Bāhur plates.⁶ Paramesvaravarman II, Nandivarman Pallavamalla mentioned by Tirumangai Alwār and Dantivarman were Vaishnavas. So, Nandi of Tellāru devoted to Siva, successor of Danti, must have been the contemporary of Sundarar. Or, we must assign the saint a period anterior to Paramesvara II, which will take him too near the boy-saint.

The few references to Buddhism and Jainism in the hymns of Sundarar indicate that he came later than the age of Sambandhar and the age of Pāndyan Vetteluttu inscriptions which mention a large number of Jaina teachers, whereas, Sundarar refers to only a few in that part of the Tamil country, thereby indicating that it was no longer the stronghold of Jainism.

These three *Tēvāra* hymns like the kings and peoples of those days were not swayed by sectarian spirit. In fact, this spirit comes into existence among the Saivas and the Vaishnavas only after the formation of their respective systems of philosophy by the Siddhāntins. The same spirit of devotion to Siva not very much concerned with rituals and philosophy may be traced through the songs of Pattinathār⁷ and Mānickavāchakar. By their time, the *Āgamaic* system of worship had fully developed, the system of philosophy known as *Māyavāda*⁸ had revived with a fresh impulse and the Saiva Siddhānta system was in a nebulous stage awaiting a definite shape.

¹ vii. 52, தொண்டத்தொலை

கடல் குழந்தை வுலகெலாங் காக்கின்ற பெருமான் கடவுட்கோன சமுதிகங்கள்.

Sēkilār places this hymn at the beginning of Sundara's life. But all that we can say is that it is an early hymn of the saint. It is likely that Sundara lived a few years in the reign of Nripatunga, son of Nandi. The journey to Pāndya with Chēramān was a later event.

Tēv. vii. 86, தினைச்சர். வேந்தரா யுலகாண் டறம்புரித்த வீற்றிருந்த விவ்வுட விதுதன்னை ததையர் திறந்து வெந்துயமுந் திடுமிய் பெருக்கவாழ்வினை. . . may refer to Nandi.

Tēv. vii. 102, ஐயாறு.

தேசவேந்தன் திருமாலும் மலர்மே லயனும் காண்கிலா. . . may refer to Nripatunga.

² vii. 8, எதிர்கொள்பாடி, மத்தயானையேறி மன்னர் குழவுருவீர்காள்.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxvii, p. 170.

⁵ *Ibid.*, verse 29.

⁴ *S.I.I.*, vol. ii, part v, p. 510.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xviii, p. 5.

⁷ The three categories of Saiva Siddhānta are mentioned in his *Kalumala* and *Marudhur munimanikōvāis*.

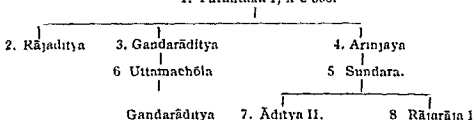
⁸ பேரறிநிருஅகவல்

CHAPTER IV.—THE AGE OF NAMBI

After the decline of Buddhism and Jainism, Saivism and Vaishnavism gradually drew apart. In the days of Nāthamuni¹ and Nambi the two sects had their origin. The effect of Nambi's compilation of the Saiva psalter and his *Āndādi* on the sixty-three was in the direction of sectarianism. The sacred Tamil Veda describing the greatness of Siva and the lives of the Saiva saints collected for the first time inspired the Saivas with the importance of their own deity.

Since the age of Nambi is important as beginning the trend towards sectarianism, let us inquire into it. From certain evidences, we may assign him to the time of Gandarāditya Chōla (A.D. 952.)

1. Parāntaka I, A c 906.



Umāpathi says that the contemporary of Nambi was one Rājārāja Abhaya Kulasēkhara and his work was approved by Sivālayadēvar (Tirumāligaidēvar?). From this it was hitherto thought that Rājārāja the Great was the king referred to by Umāpathi. But, the provision made for the singing of the Saiva psalms by Uttama Chōla,² son of Gandarāditya, the elaborate arrangements made by Rājārāja³ for the same purpose make us doubt if Nambi's compilation did not take place earlier than Rājārāja. But who among his predecessors collected the hymns? It is quite possible that Nambi was patronized by more than one king. But, at whose instance did he do the compilation?

So far as we know, the most pious among Rājārāja's predecessors was Gandarāditya. He was a Saiva saint. He had great love for singing hymns. He might have acquired it by reading the *Tēvaram*. So, it is probable that he collected the Saiva hymns. But, it is difficult to equate him with Rājārāja, Abhaya and Kulasēkhara unless we brush aside the latter as later *bīrudas* which is not possible. Neither Nambi nor Sēkkilār gives us any definite clue to find out their time or kings. The 'Āditya' of the former⁴ and the

¹ The first of the Vaishnava Āchāryas lived in the tenth century A.D. He compiled the Vaishnava psalter, *The 4,000*

² *S.I.I.*, vol. iii, Nos. 139 and 151A.

³ *S.I.I.*, vol. ii, No. 65

⁴ *Āndādi*, Idangali: Nāyanār and Pugalchōla Nāyanār —

He is said to have gold plated Tilla and destroyed Ceylon. If Āditya is taken as the name of Nambi's king, then the reference may be to Gandarāditya. Gandarāditya has been identified with Madirāikonda Rājakesari by the epigraphist (See *M.E.R.*, 1913, p. 95 and 1912, pp. 63-64). His father was Parāntaka, the famous king who gold plated Tilla and took Madura and Ceylon according to inscriptions. *M.E.R.*, 1907 (pp. 72-73). Gandarāditya might have taken active part in his father's expeditions and thus shared the honour of

'Anapāya'¹ of the latter refer to the Solar Chōla family and are useless otherwise.

The stories contained in Nambi's Andādi had become so familiar by the time of Rājārāja I² and Rājēndra I³ that they set up images of some of the Saiva saints. No doubt there is an instance of a provision made for the singing of the hymns in the ninth century by Nandi Vikrama⁴ (Nandi of Tellāru?) but the tradition is strong that the hymns were collected by a Chōla. There is another instance of such a provision in the 41st year of Parantaka⁵ I father of Gandarāditya. But, the credit for the compilation may be given to the saintly son in the closing years of the reign of his heroic father in whose wars and administration the son might have shared.

CHAPTER V.—THE AGE OF SEKKILĀR

The effect of Sēkkilār's work which presented vivid accounts of the Saiva saints of Tamil Nādu in a simple and graceful style, was incalculable. The miracles mentioned in *Periyapurānam* must have stimulated the enthusiasm of the Saivas and captured many a heart besides that of the king. God makes no difference of sex or caste or race among His devotees and everyone can obtain salvation by intense devotion to Him which is a simple means. Such were the lessons implanted by the author in every Saiva heart. There was a community of spirit among all the devotees irrespective of caste differences. This was bound to lead soon to a contempt towards the other communities. Intense devotion to one God was bound in course of time to lead the devotees to consider the other Gods as inferior.

When did Sēkkilār live? Scholars have been wavering between the reigns of Kulōttunga I and Kulōttunga II—for the period of Sēkkilār. In about half a dozen passages⁶ Sēkkilār calls his patron and king Anapāya. He calls him Abhaya and Kulōttunga also. The last name Kulōttunga is not used so familiarly for the Chōla as the first two. So Sēkkilār's contemporary was probably a Kulōttunga.

Umapathy, a near authority, says that the contemporary of Sēkkilār was a young king⁷ who took to the study of *Jivaka chintāmani*, a Jain work and that he ruled from the Himālayas to Rāmēsvār.⁸ The very same phrase to denote the extent of his empire is used in an inscription⁹ of Kulōttunga I. Kulōttunga I

taking Madura and Ceylon. Since writing the above, my learned friend Mr. Somasundara Desikar of the Tamil Lexicon office tells me that he has successfully identified this Aditya with Aditya II Karikala in a paper submitted to the Oriental Conference, 1928.

¹ See below.

² S.I.I., vol. ii, Nos. 38, 41, 43

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, No. 40.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. iii, No. 43, See also K. S. Srinivasa Pillai, *Tamil Varalaru*, vol. ii, pp. 158-170, *Tirumurai Vahuppu* (Tamil).

⁵ *Arch. Surv. of India Rep.*, 1905-6, p. 172. Also No. 373 of 1903, *M.E.R.*

⁶ *Periya.*, i 11, 17, 36, 162, 215, 435.

⁷ *Ibid.*, i, Introd. 9, இளவரசனாற் றுந் தேர்த்தி.

⁸ *Ibid.*, i, Introd. 8, சென் னகர ல இமசேநு பரியந்த மியற் றுந் தானில,

⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. v, p. 104.

was young on his accession and ruled long as king over all land from Kalinga downwards (A.D. 1070-1118). Being a Chālukya in whose kingdom Jainism had not died out, it is quite likely that the young king had a leaning towards Jainism, or the Jains of Chōla tried their luck with him.

It is stated by Sēkkilār that his king was Nīrruchōlan and the Madras epigraphist says that Kulōttunga I is called Nīrruchōla in some inscriptions.¹ Besides, in the reign of one Kulōttunga, Sēkkilān Parāntaka Dēvan *alias* Karikāla Chōla Pallavarāyan of Kunrathur in Kulōttunga Sōla Valanādu, and Sēkkilān Pālavaraiyan Kalappalarayan of the same place make gifts to the temples of Kadaiyur and Kalappal.² The epigraphist says that they were the Sēkkilār brothers of the *Periyapurānam* but it is doubtful if the king referred to is Kulōttunga I or II. The title Karikāla Sōla Pallavan will be appropriate only in the reign of Kulōttunga I, for the *Kalingattuparani*³ calls him Karikāla and attributes to him the same greatness so deservedly won by the old Karikāla. But, the *Periyapurānam* gives Sēkkilār the title of Uttama Chōla Pallavan and his brother the title of Tondamān Pālavaraiyan. The Kadaiyur and Kalappal inscriptions place it beyond doubt that the Sēkkilār brothers lived in the time of a Kulōttunga. Another curious fact which makes us identify Sēkkilār's king with Kulōttunga I is that the latter's son Vikrama Chōla refers to the story of Manuchōla⁴ which is not sketched by Nambi and must be fresh in the memory of Vikrama on account of the recent publication of Sēkkilār's book. But this is a small evidence. The persecutor of Rāmānuja,⁵ Kulōttunga grew to be a staunch Saiva. So it is likely that the *Periyapurānam* of his minister roused to some extent the latent Chōla Saiva zeal.

But there are some objections to the above reference. The non-reference to the Kalinga expedition by Sēkkilār is easily explained. He was writing a purely religious work. Or, the *Purāna* was composed before the great event. But how can we explain away the fact that nowhere in his inscriptions Kulōttunga I calls himself Anapāya?⁶ The *Kalingattuparani* is silent on this point and does not even mention the gold plating of Tillai done by so many Chōlas including Sēkkilār's contemporary. His inscriptions too do not speak of any sacred act of that nature.

An inscription beginning with *Poomāṇṇu Nadumam* at Tiruvārur

¹ *Periya.*, 11; *M.E.R.*, 1912, p. 67; Ins. No. 312 of 1901.

² *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xviii, p. 68. The latter name occurs in 445 of 1912, Kottur. The inscription is dated in the second year of Kulōttunga Chōla, Tribhuvana Chakravartī. But the division where Kunrathur Nādu was, could not have been called Kulōttunga Chōla Vala Nādu so early as the second year of Kulōttunga I. So the inscription belongs to the second of that name.

³ Stanzas 260 and 583. He is called Karikāla in inscriptions, see T.A.G. Rao, *The Alvars* (Madras University).

⁴ *S.I.I.*, vol. ii, No. 38.

⁵ This and the destruction of the Vishnu temple at Tillai are attributed by some to Kulōttunga II whom they identify with *Krimikānta*; see T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *The Alvars*, and *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxviii, p. 129 for *Krimikānta*.

⁶ *M.E.R.*, 1912, p. 67.

mentions Kulōttunga and Anapāya as the names of one king.¹ This beginning is different from that in the inscriptions of Kulōttunga I. So it has been concluded that the king Anapāya was Kulōttunga II. So also the Kalathur and Ānakka inscriptions.² The former mentions Anapāya, the Tondamān chief as the royal secretary, while the latter mentions king Anapāya Kulōttunga Tirunir-ruchōla and the same royal secretary. Another inscription³ of Kulōttunga II calls him Nīrruchōla. It also begins with *Poomannu Padumam*. He is referred to in an *Ula* as having gold plated Tillai.⁴

CHAPTER VI.—THE NORTHERN BRAHMANS

In the *Āgamaic* Saiva works,⁵ it is said that Saivas flourished first in Manthrakāli on the Gōdāvari. There were four mutts of which one was the Amardhaka Mata. Rājēndra⁶ on his return from the Ganges brought some of the Saivas and settled them in his kingdom. One of them was Īsāna Siva Pandita who built a Siva temple at Kūrampandal. Even before Rājēndra, some of the Chōla kings seem to have brought and settled Northern Brahmans. Rājarāja appointed Sarva Siva Pandita Sivāchāri as priest of the Tanjore temple and his disciples for ever of Ārya, Madhya and Gauda to succeed him. Some of them seem to have been *Rāja-gurus*. Probably descended from one of the immigrants was Umāpathi Dēva mentioned in a twelfth century inscription as native of Dakshina Lāta in Gauda and priest of the temple of Arpākkam near Kānchi.⁷ These Saiva Brahmans gave an impetus to the sectarian movement which was finding expression and encouragement in the Saiva mutts.⁸ Thus *Āgamaic* works came to be written in the south by Agōra Sivāchāri (*Saka* 1080), Trilōchana Sivāchāri, Vāmadēva Sivāchāri and others.⁹ These works led on to the works of the Saiva Siddhāntins of whom Umāpathi was the last (*Saka* 1235).¹⁰

The persecution of Rāmānuja was not due to the intolerance of the Saiva Chōla as the latter did not persecute all Vaishnavas. But, probably the individual persecution was due to the work of Rāmānuja in the direction of extending the fold of Vaishnavism which proved prejudicial to the other religion. Both religions had degenerated into sectarian paths and the *āchāryas* of both instead of bridging the gulf widened it by unseemly controversies about the greatness of the two Gods and about the temples which contained them.

¹ *M.E.R.*, 269 of 1901 ; *S.I.I.*, vol. ii, p. 153.

² *Ibid.*, 1912, p. 67.

³ *Ibid.*, 1913, p. 107 ; No. 196 of 1901. His king is called Nīrruchōla by Sēkkilār.

⁴ Kulōttunga Chōlan Ula, *M.E.R.*, 1913, p. 106.

⁵ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *ante.*, vol. ii, ch. i, p. 4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, *S.I.I.*, vol. ii, No. 9.

⁷ *S.I.I.*, vol. ii, Part II, p. 153 ; *M.E.R.*, No. 40 of 1906.

⁸ *M.E.R.*, No. 20 of 1899.

⁹ T. A. Gopinātha Rao, *ante.*, vol. ii, ch. i, pp. 4-9.

¹⁰ *Saiva Siddhānta Varalāru* (Tamil) by Anavartanāyakam Pillai.

Of the Northern Saiva Matas, the Gōlaki *Mata* spread in the Tamil country with innumerable branches.¹ Visvēsvara of that *Mata* was the contemporary of Kulōttunga III. Branches of this powerful *Mata* occur in thirteenth century inscriptions. Its influence came to be very great over the non-Brahman castes like the *Vaniyas*. These mutts did a good deal for safeguarding and spreading the Saiva religion.

CHAPTER VII.—THE MUTTS

The mutts of the Saivas, mentioned by Sēkkillār² as having existed as early as the age of Sambandhar, probably grew in imitation of the Buddhist and Jain mutts. From the time of the later Chōlas, they spring into existence in large numbers preserving and patronising Saiva literature, promoting Saiva religion and works and otherwise safeguarding the Saiva interests. The feeding of Sivayōgis devotees who did as much work as the Buddhist monks for spreading their religion was provided for by the kings.

Inscriptions reveal to us a Rājendra Chōla *Mata* and a Kulōttunga Chōla *Mata* at Orriyur.³ Quite a large number of them come into view from Rājarāja III and Rājendra III.⁴ These came to be permanent organizations with plenty of properties. Their influence was sectarian. All of them were non-Brahman and great strongholds and propagandist agencies of Saivism among the masses. They served educational and poor-law purposes also. Devotion to Siva was required by these agencies and Sāstraic *Karma* was not heeded.⁵

CONCLUSION

It only remains for the author to thank the Madras University for having passed and published this humble work. The author is highly grateful to the various Savants who have been quoted in the foregoing pages and whose researches have earned for them a deathless reputation. His thanks are also due to Mr. V. Narayana Iyer, M.A., M.L., Advocate, for having helped in the correction of the first proofs.

¹ *M.E.R.*, 1924, pp. 114 and 115.

² *Periya.*, i, pp. 595, 644; ii, p. 259.

³ *M.E.R.*, 1913, p. 105; 1925, p. 83.

⁴ Stone Ins. Nos. 49, 156, 158 of 1911 speak of *matas* at Tiruvidamarudhur, Muniyur and Shiyali. See also *Arch. Surv. of India Rep.*, 1908-9, p. 125.

⁵ *M.E.R.*, 1909, pp. 103-105.

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TRUTH IN THE ŚAIVA SIDDHĀNTA

BY

S. S. SURVANARAYANA SASTRI, M.A., (Madras), B.Sc. (Oxon),
Barrister-at-Law, Reader in Indian Philosophy,
University of Madras.

1. The Śaiva Siddhānta system claims that its title bears a yoga-rūḍhi significance,¹ that it not merely happens to be called the final position, but is veritably the final position, all other systems being so many preliminary steps to this goal. The revelations of others such as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, etc., only serve to keep the soul in bondage, for the categories they teach are of limited extent and fall short of the path of release. The knowledge taught in these does not extend up to Śiva-tattva or Laya-Śiva, union with which alone constitutes release. The other Śāstras teach only the twenty-five principles from the gross elements up to puruṣa and no higher status than that of puruṣa can be gained through their knowledge. Hence, it is said, 'the Siddhānta alone is the final position, all other Āgamas (revelations) being *prima facie* views; Śiva is the only auspicious being (since He reveals the Siddhānta), all others being inauspicious.'² The superiority of the Siddhānta is thus established through its consideration of categories not known to other systems. The Sāṃkhya, for instance, recognizes only twenty-four categories (or twenty-five including the puruṣa); the Yoga recognizes practically the same number, though it postulates the Lord in addition to them. The Pāñcarātra and other Āgamas, it is contended,³ do not recognize any more, while the Siddhānta alone explains all the thirty-six categories, by the full knowledge of which, one may attain union with Śiva, i.e., final release.⁴ The test of inclusiveness is thus applied, what is less inclusive being so far dismissed as less

¹ Cp. SSP., p. 6.

² PA, vv. 907, 908, PB, p. 557; c. p. also RTS, vv. 10-12

³ PA, v. 912, PB, p. 560

⁴ The thirty-six categories of the Siddhānta are—The five Śivatattvas comprising, Śiva, Śakti, Sadāśiva, Īśvara and Siddhaviḍyā, the seven Vidyā-tattvas comprising Kālā, Kalā, Niyati, Rāga, Vidyā, Puruṣa and Prakṛti, and the twenty-four Atma-tattvas comprising Guṇas, Buddhi, Ahambkāra, Manas, the five other organs of cognition, the five organs of action, the five subtle elements and the five gross elements. The Sāṃkhya recognizes in addition to Puruṣa, only the twenty-four Atma-tattvas, identifying, however, the Guṇa-tattva with Prakṛti.

valuable and less true. It is not, however, dismissed as untrue. Even the Cārvāka system has a measure of truth in so far as it recognizes at least the four elements.¹ What has been declared by him who knows more cannot be contradicted by the words of one who knows less. It is possible, thus, to set out a scale of truth beginning with the sciences formulated by human beings and ending with the Śivāgamas. Each higher Śāstra is uncontradicted by the lower, each lower one is superseded by the next higher.

2. Two minor difficulties have to be faced. It is said that Śiva is the author of all the different Śāstras, eighteen in number (aṣṭādas'ānām vidyānām bhinnavartmanām). How then can some be of superior and others of inferior truth-value? The reply is that in the case of all other knowledge except that of the Śivāgamas, Śiva has had the co-operation of other agents such as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, etc. The Hiraṇyagarbha Āgama was thus produced by Śiva, no doubt, but with the co-operation of Brahmā; so too, Viṣṇu co-operated in the revelation known as the Pāñcarātra Āgama. The defects of these branches of knowledge are to be traced to the variable co-operating factor in each case,² and not to Śiva, who is the common factor.

3. Such an easy escape is not possible, however, in the case of the contradiction alleged to exist between the Vedas and the Śivāgamas; for both are revealed by Śiva Himself. But the difficulty is in part imaginary, since the Vedas do not require to be *corrected*, but only *supplemented* in the light of the Śivāgamas. That the Vedic texts require supplementation from among themselves is abundantly clear from the viyadadhikaraṇa³ of the *Vedānta Sūtras*, where it is shown that the ether is included in creation, though it is not so mentioned in certain texts. Similar supplementation from the Śivāgamas is certainly admissible, since, as revealed by Śiva, they possess at least as much authority as the Vedas.

4. It will have been noticed that the Siddhānta conceives of Truth as a systematic whole, which falls short of perfection in the measure in which it fails to be all-inclusive, but is yet realizable in varying degrees, according to the spiritual grade of the person in whom it is manifested. We are here at some distance from the stage of looking to correspondence with an external reality as the test of truth. Inclusiveness, however, is not the only test or aspect of system; and in so far as the other aspect of harmony is not sufficiently emphasized, one may feel that the Siddhānta has fallen

¹ *PB*, p. 563.

³ *VS*, II, 3, 1.

² *SJB SgY*, p. 17; *PB*, p. 561.

short of the highest conception of truth. This failure is reflected in the harping on the number of categories in the Siddhānta as compared with other systems. It is quite conceivable that another system with far fewer categories may help us to a more harmonious but none the less comprehensive understanding of the universe. The number of categories propounded by a system does not of itself guarantee that it is the absolutely necessary minimum or that even therewith a harmonious view of the universe is possible. It is not possible to say that the Siddhāntin has neglected the aspect of harmony, since that necessarily forms part of any intelligible conception of inclusiveness; but he does not appear to have placed that in the foreground of his critical consciousness as much as he ought to have.

5. Yet another feature of the Siddhāntin's conception of system deserves to be noticed. The lower, he rightly holds, is transcended in the higher; but he actually says, not that it is transcended in, but that it is contradicted by, the higher (*adho'dho bādhyam ūrdhvataḥ*). Contradiction ordinarily implies that what is contradicted has no element of truth at all. How, then, can it be said that even the Cārvāka system is true to the extent of the four elements that it recognizes? The difficulty is illusory, replies the Siddhāntin. In respect of statements of what *is*, such as the number of categories, the cause of the universe, etc., the lower is contradicted, in so far as it comes into conflict with the higher; for, option is not possible in the case of the existent. But in the case of what is to be done, where there is a definitive option, such that the adoption of one course bars the other or others, as in the performance of a ritual before or after sunrise, there is no contradiction of the lower by the higher.¹ And it follows without saying that the authority of the lower is never affected in the case of the purely optional acts. It would thus appear that the authority of lower systems is confined to their injunctions and prohibitions and does not extend to their statements of fact—physical or metaphysical. Now, though in the light of higher knowledge these statements may not be true, yet there is no denying the fact that, as applying to what was known at that stage, they were true. The Ptolemaic hypothesis was true, not absolutely, but as applied to the facts then known about the universe. The hypothesis, however modified, failed to square with the facts increasingly known, and hence came to be found untrue; it was transcended by the Copernican hypothesis. In the same manner may the Sāṃkhya, whose theorising is confined to twenty-four categories, be transcended by the Siddhānta whose scope is

¹ *PB*, p. 563, *SJSgY*, p. 18.

wider. But the transcendence does not mean the denial of any element of truth to the Sāṅkhya except in respect of the injunctive and prohibitory statements. That a wholesale denial is not meant is apparent from the oft-repeated statement that each system is authoritative to the appropriate subject (*adhikārin*), a statement which is wholly implausible, if all truth is denied to lower systems in respect of statements of fact (*vastvamśe*). It would appear that the Siddhāntin's talk of contradiction (*bādhya*) has stood in the way of his realizing the issue clearly; for, while transcendence would not seem to be inconsistent with conservation in a certain measure, contradiction would seem to be so inconsistent. It may be this want of clearness that leads to the distinction between statements as to what *is* and statements as to what *is to be done*. But what is more probable, however, is that the distinction serves to mark off the province where the lower systems are valid for all time, even where they come into conflict with the higher, from that wherein such conflict necessarily leads to the lower being discarded.

6. Another point worthy of note is that for the Siddhāntin, the Vedas are authoritative because they have been revealed by Śiva, not, as the Mīmāṃsaka contends, because they are eternal and unoriginated. This is in conformity with his more general doctrine that, in respect of its origin, truth is not self-evident but has to be otherwise guaranteed (*utpattau paratastvam*).

7. We may now look a little more closely at the Siddhāntin's criterion of truth. He does not define *pramāṇa* (means of knowledge) as that which brings about *pramā* (knowledge), since he holds that to be too wide, including the sense-organs and such accessories as the light of a lamp, etc. According to him, what is an object of knowledge cannot itself be an instrument of knowledge (*yanmeyam na hi tanmānam*)¹, and the sense-organs, etc., are objects of knowledge. *Pramāṇa*, therefore, is that intelligence-energy which is free from doubt, error or memory (*saṁśayādi vinirmuktā cit-śaktir mānam ucyate*)². It is directed outwards, not to the knower himself³. The nature of doubt, error etc., will be noticed in a further article. It will be sufficient for our purpose here to state briefly that doubt is the apprehension of different conflicting attributes in one subject, and that error is the cognition of a content in relation to that which does not possess that content. Memory, of course, relates to what has been experienced and is not a means of present knowledge.

8. The expression *Cit-śakti* usually denotes knowledge rather

¹ *PA*. v. 852, cp. also *SSP*, p. 8.

³ *PA*, v. 846; *PB*, p. 521.

² *PA*, v. 845.

than the means of knowledge. If Cit-śakti is itself the instrument, what is the name for that which results from the exercise of the instrument? The answer is, that Cit-śakti is both instrument and result, that it has two aspects, as inseparably connected with the self and as turned towards external objects. In the former aspect, it is the result and in the latter aspect the instrument. It is not therefore inappropriate to speak of Cit-śakti as the instrument of knowledge.¹

9. It may be thought, however, that the appellation *pramāṇa* can at best apply only to the conative (*kriyā*) aspect of Cit-śakti, not to its cognitive (*jñāna*) aspect, since the former alone would appear to function as an instrument. But the *jñāna* aspect too fulfils a function in the acquisition of knowledge. The conative energy removes the hindrance to the object becoming known, while the cognitive energy endows it with the capacity which is favourable to its manifestation in knowledge (*bhāvi vyāpāra anukūla योग्या*). Cit-śakti functioning free from doubt, error or remembrance, in both its cognitive and conative aspects, gives us truth.²

10. So far, however, we have only a negative definition. Umāpati, the commentator on the Pauṣkara Āgama³, tries to give us a more positive conception of the nature of truth and to this end examines several current and possible modes of viewing it. That intelligence-energy (Cit-śakti) is a *pramāṇa* which is associated with intellectual activity (*buddhi vṛtti*), of the nature of true experience (*yathārtha anubhūti*). Wherein lies the truth of the intellectual activity? It is manifestly not resemblance that constitutes truth; for, between the intellectual activity and its object that lies outside, there can never be complete resemblance; some degree of it is present even in error, and truth cannot

¹ SSP, p. 8.

² SSP, p. 8. A further difficulty in recognizing Cit-śakti as *pramāṇa* is the acceptance of a plurality of *pramāṇas* even by the Siddhāntin (three, according to some, four according to others). The reconciliation of unity with plurality is effected thus. Intelligence-energy which is perfect is beginninglessly veiled by the impurity known as *Nihāra* (a synonym of *Ānava*). This impurity becomes ripe for removal in different degrees at different times. The manner in which knowledge results varies with the modes of activity of the internal organ, which vary according to the degree of maturity of *mala*, and hence we have the different modes in which knowledge comes to us, though all the modes are fundamentally identical with Cit-śakti. In the proportion in which *mala* is ripe, knowledge is directed away from the world to the path of *nivṛtti* and becomes increasingly free from doubt, error and remembrance. See SSP, p. 17.

³ It is not certain if this commentator is identical with the fourth of the Tamil *saṁtāna ācāryas*. Hultsch (*RSSM*, II, p. 18) considers the identity probable. The editor of the *Pauṣkara Bhāṣya* definitely identifies the two Umāpatīs. Schomerus too follows tradition and makes this identification (*DCS*, p. 23). But curiously enough, the commentator quotes from the *Nyāyāmṛta* (see *PB*, p. 519) a Madhva work believed to belong to the 16th century. Further investigation is undoubtedly called for before the identification is accepted.

be distinguished from error unless it is possible to define the precise degree of resemblance that constitutes truth.

11. Nor can truth consist in the attribution of that characteristic which is not the correlate of the non-existence of the substantive (viśeṣya) element in knowledge. For, the pot and the place where it is are in the relation of mutual exclusion (anyonyābhāva) and when we cognise the pot as present at a particular place, the predicate does happen to be the correlate of a particular variety of the non-existence (viz., anyonyābhāva) of the pot ; thus, even a true cognition is excluded by the proposed definition.¹

12. If we try to restrict the non-existence (abhāva) spoken of in the above definition to cases of absolute non-existence (atyantābhāva), we are still not free from difficulties. Cherries are red ; hence redness is not a correlate of absolute non-existence. The predication of redness would none the less be false in the case of an unripe cherry.² This definition, therefore, becomes too wide.

13. Our failure may lead us to exclude the correlate of all kinds of abhāva except anyonyābhāva, for the non-exclusion of which we saw sufficient reason above. But our difficulties persist. Thus, to return to the cherries, it would be false to predicate the redness even of the ripe ones, since redness is a correlate of prior non-existence (prāgabhāva). Again, in a case of joint cognition, say of the pot and the cloth, each is the correlate of the absence of the other (ghaṭa is paṭābhāva-pratīyogī and *vice versa*) ; hence the cognition of the pot and of the cloth should by turns be false, each being in turn the correlate of the non-existence of the other ; but as a matter of fact they are both cognised together as true. Further, on such a view, knowledge of conjunction would be impossible ; for, whatever is conjoined (in the relation of saṃyoga) is so through a part of itself ; the saṃyoga pertaining to that part would be (as regards the rest of the whole) the correlate of non-existence ; hence, we could never truly say that any entity whatever is in the relation of saṃyoga to another.

14. We may now turn to another possible criterion—the invariable concomitance of the object and the judgment. This may mean that the judgment is not made either where the object is absent or where there is not some relation to the object. Neither possibility is of any help, for, the object can never be *in* the intellect which judges, while if *some* relation to the object be all that is needed, that is present in every case, even in doubt and error. On the

¹ *PB*, p. 511.

² Cp. the Irish bull 'blackberries are red when they are green.'

former alternative, no truth would be possible, on the latter, every judgment would be true

15 May we not say simply that the characterization of an object by the attributes pertaining thereto constitutes truth (*viśeṣya vṛtti dharma prakarakatvam*)? No, for it is not characteristic of truth alone, as distinguished from error. A person sees a heap of red beads along with a fire and takes them both to be fire. In this case, the assertion is of an attribute present in the object, but yet the total cognition is false. Again, there may be cognition of both the beads and the fire, but the fire may be taken for the beads and *vice versa*. In this case too the predication is based on attributes clearly present in the whole taken as the object yet the detailed cognition is erroneous

16 If now, in despair, we turn to a negative definition, we may say that truth consists in not being related to an object that is not the substrate of the characteristic affirmed. But the definition excludes joint cognition (*samuhālambhana pratyaya*) like that of the pot and the cloth in which each of the objects is certainly not the substrate of the characteristics affirmed of the other

17 Nor may we say that truth lies in the affirmation of a particular characteristic where there is an object with the corresponding attribute. The object *pot* has the property of *being a pot* (*ghṛatva*), on the strength of this we cannot say that *pot* is *pot-ness* or that the *pot* is *in pot-ness*, though neither of these would be excluded by the attempted definition, since the characterization of *potness* or *in potness*, corresponds to the attribute *potness* possessed by the object. Again, we know that *potness* exists in *pots*, but such an assertion would not be true according to the definition, since *pots* are not attributes of *potness*, and the latter cannot be spoken of as possessing pots

18. The difficulties thus encountered are avoided by the Siddhantin who mentions the following conditions as essential to a true predication (1) It should not be limited by a quality which is its own contrary. This is the most fundamental condition. A monkey may be sitting on a tree, it would be true to say that the tree is qualified by the presence of the monkey. If, however, the assertion were to the effect that the base of the tree is qualified by the presence of the monkey, it would be false, since it is limited by its contrary attribute—presence at the top of the tree and not at the base. The assertion, in other words, must not come into conflict with what is established and thus be contradicted (2) The predication must be of a subject which is in some definite relation to the attribute predicated. By substituting the words 'be in some definite relation to the attribute' for 'possess the attribute', the

Siddhāntin hopes to escape the difficulties he pointed out in the case of *pot-ness* and the *pot*. It was said that, on that definition, *pot-ness* would not be cognised since it does not possess the *pot* as an attribute. On the present view, *pot-ness* and *pot* are no longer considered as *viśesana* and *viśeṣya*, but as two *relata* generally. (3) The relation predicated should correspond to that in which subject and attribute are. Thus, a crystal looks red, because redness is inherent not in the crystal, but in what is associated with the crystal. The relation between the two is not *samavāyi sambandha*, but *sva samavāyi samyoga* (conjunction with that in which the property is inherent). It is essential that what is predicated should be the specific mode in which the subject and attribute are related, not any other kind of relation, as otherwise, the predication cannot be true. (4) The predication must be made as qualifying the particular subject, which stands in the described relation to the attribute or attributes. This specification prevents the possibility of error already noticed, where several objects are cognised together, e.g., fire and a heap of red beads. Where fieriness is predicated of the fire and not of the beads, there is no error. Hence, the predication must be made of the particular subject which stands in the relation specified to the attributes in question, not of another subject (e.g., the beads), which does not stand in that relation.¹

19. If now we look at the net result of the Siddhāntin's labours, we find that we have only one definite test offered us, i.e., absence of contradiction. The other elements mentioned are of interest mainly as showing the Siddhāntin's capacity to get out of difficulties largely of his own creation, as in the difficulties about *samūhāmālabhaṇa pratyaya*. The difference between him and the Naiyāyika seems to be more terminological than conceptual, the Siddhāntin aiming at and probably arriving at a more precise definition in terms than the Naiyāyika. But the main difficulty as to correspondence seems still to persist. This is a difficulty which the Naiyāyika does not get over.² And the Siddhānta doctrine apparently takes us to the same *cul-de-sac*. A predication is true if it is made of a subject which is in relation to the attributes in question in the manner in which the predication is made. But how are we to know whether the relation between subject and attribute is actual or whether the manner of the predication is also the manner in which the relation obtains? A thorough-going

¹ For the criticism of the other definitions of *yathārthatva* see *PB*, p. 511; the Siddhāntin's definition and its justification are found on p. 512 of the same work.

² See *ILA*, p. 45, fn. 5.

doctrine of Truth as a system can offer nothing but coherence as a test; and if that is the test, the requirements about manner of relation etc., are but details in the application of that test. We are not, however, certain that the Siddhānta holds to the coherence-notion in such a thorough-going fashion. What has been said earlier about Truth revealing itself in various degrees in various grades, and the rejection of the correspondence-theory in the sense of resemblance would certainly seem to favour the view that the Siddhāntin holds the coherence-view. But the stress laid on such details as correspondence in the manner of relation and so on, the use of Nyāya terminology, though with an attempt at greater precision, the absence of explicit reference to coherence as the test, the fact that the Siddhāntin is not an idealist like the Advaitin, all these would indicate that he holds fast to a form of the correspondence-notion though with modifications. In his desire to demonstrate that his system is verily the final synthesis, he would appear to have juxtaposed this correspondence-doctrine with the doctrine of Truth as a system, though it is certainly questionable if such juxtaposition can claim to be a synthesis at all.

20. The truth of a cognition is self-evident, and has not to be made manifest otherwise than by the reflective cognition based on itself (*anuvyavasāya jñāna*). Here, again, the Siddhāntin parts company with the Naiyāyika, though he agrees with the latter in postulating a reflective cognition consequent on the consciousness of the object, e.g., a judgment, 'I know this to be silver.' This reflective cognition of itself reveals the truth of the cognition of silver; it is not necessary to establish that truth, in any such manner as that indicated by the Naiyāyika, e.g., as the conclusion of an inference based on successful practical activity.

21. Certain essential features of self-evidence have to be noted. It is revealed by (1) all succeeding instances of (2) normal perception of (3) that of which the true predication is made (the substrate of *pramāṭva*), (4) so long as there is no contradiction of the cognition whose truth is in question. Mother-of-pearl may look like silver and be judged to be silver. This cognition is true and its truth is self-evident until the cognition is contradicted by further experience. The cognition of the mother-of-pearl as silver can be apprehended as true only until such contradiction takes place, and not afterwards. To indicate this is the object of qualification (4), which mentions a time-limit. It is also obvious that if reflective cognition is to reveal truth, it must be of that to which the original cognition relates—the substrate of *pramāṭva*. A judgment like 'I know this to be a cloth' can be of no help in revealing the truth of the cognition 'This is a pot.' Hence qualification (3) is put in,

22. Even according to the Naiyāyikas, the truth of the original cognition is grasped in *some* instances of subsequent cognition, *i. e.*, those which succeeded the inference based on successful practical activity. To distinguish that position from the Siddhānta, it is made out that self-evidence consists in being the object of *all* subsequent perception.

23. The qualification 'normal (laukika) perception', again, serves to distinguish this view from that of the Nyāya school. According to the latter, the class *pramātva* (truth) would be apprehended by *alaukika* (transcendental) perception. It is not such a cognition of truth that is understood by the Siddhāntin, as for him the apprehension of the class *pramātva* is of little help in revealing how a particular cognition is valid.¹

24. That the reflective cognition reveals the truth of the original cognition follows from a consideration of the constituents of the former. The extent of the two cognitions is the same. When the reflective cognition arises, it involves the understanding not merely of the subject and the attribute involved in the original cognition but also of the relation of those two; otherwise, the qualification 'being silver' could not appear as characterising the 'this' before me, in the judgment 'I know this to be silver'; for, the characteristic is verily of the form of the correlate of a relation that is manifested. The manifestation of the relation constitutes self-evidence. To the objection that the relationship is apprehended not of itself but only as the object of another cognition (the *anuvyavasāya*), the Siddhāntin replies that his position is no worse than that of his adversary according to whom the truth of a present cognition is grasped only through an inference which is other than the cognition. In any case, the truth so apprehended relates to the original, not to the subsequent cognition, and that is all that matters.

25. A more serious difficulty, however, relates to the possibility of doubt.² The moment an object is apprehended, *anuvyavasāya* steps in and manifests the truth of the apprehension. Where then is the possibility of a doubt as to its truth? And yet such doubt is a fact of experience. If it be said that there is no such apprehension of the object, that there is not even *vyavasāya jñāna*, then too doubt seems to be ruled out; for, when the substrate of the doubt is not given, there can be no doubt. The only way to explain doubt would, therefore, seem to be to accept that with the cognition of the object its truth is not apprehended as well; but this is to give up the doctrine of self-evidence.

¹ *PB*, pp. 512-513 ; *SJBSgY*, p. 18.

² See *ILA*, p. 47.

26. To this objection, the Siddhāntin replies that doubt is due to a suspicion of defect in the origination of our knowledge. If this were not the way in which doubt arises, then it would not be possible for us to suspect (as we do) if our cognition is not faulty, even where we do perceive silver to be silver; for, the original cognition of silver would, according to our objector, obstruct doubt. The doubt in either case must be admitted, then, to be based not on the cognition but on the possibility of that cognition having resulted from defective sources. The Naiyāyika may attempt to avoid this conclusion and yet show how a doubt as to non-validity of the cognition is possible. He may say that the original cognition (of silver) passes away before the doubt as to non-validity arises and that, therefore, the former does not preclude the latter. But this does not help, since, according to the Naiyāyika, not merely this cognition but everything perishes in its third moment; hence of everything there should be doubt, which is not the case. Further, if the suspicion of defective causation be not the cause of doubt, doubt should be equally possible in the case of what is near as in that of what is far away.

27. Again, the Siddhāntin does not admit that the cognition of the object is the ground of the doubt. The opponent may, however, urge some argument like the following: where several trees are seen by the way-side to be in the field of vision, some only are questioned about; this is not explicable except on the ground that doubt arises only about the trees which are cognized. But this kind of argument leads nowhere, for the counter-question suggests itself, 'When many trees are in the field of attention, how does it happen that only about some of them there is cognition such as leads to further questioning?' If it be said that these trees have some special features because of which they alone are known and not the others, would it not be simpler to trace the doubt also to those features? True, these features vary in each case, while doubt seems to be common to all of them. Yet, since these features are ascertained to exist and to function, it would be simpler and more justifiable to trace the doubt to them than to cognition of the object whose existence and functioning have to be postulated. Nor can you maintain that one function—the occasioning of cognition—having been assigned to the distinctive features, no other function such as the occasioning of doubt may be further assigned to them; for, the cognition so caused may be one infected with doubt; and there is no warrant to maintain that only such cognition as is free from doubt is brought about by the distinctive features of the object; to insist on adding the qualification 'free from doubt' would be to infringe the law of parsimony. The distinctive

character of the object may, therefore, be held to be the cause both of the cognition and of the doubt.

28. It may now be said that once doubt is caused, in whatever way, it is bound to enter into the reflective cognition (*anuvyavasāya*). The latter will not any longer be in a position to reveal the validity of the original cognition. One may try to wriggle out of this by saying that the doubt is *of the validity* and that in doubting, therefore, validity is already given. Such an answer is obviously inapplicable to the doubt as to the absence of non-validity. The truth is, the Siddhāntin concedes the force of the objection, since his doctrine is not affected thereby. He does not seek to maintain that reflective cognition reveals truth for all time, but only so long as the original cognition is not contradicted. The implication of this clause may be made clear by stating that truth is not manifested subsequent to the apprehension of the absence of relation between the object and the attribute (*tadvattvābhāva upasthiti*). Doubt has for its object the absence of the relation between the object and the attribute (*tadvattvābhāva*) and hence arises subsequently to the apprehension of that absence. That, at this stage, truth is not revealed by *anuvyavasāya* is admitted by the Siddhāntin.¹

29. The view of the Naiyāyika that truth is not self-evident in the cognition but has to be made known by other means, does not stand to reason. It is maintained by him that the truth of a cognition, say of water, is inferred from successful practical activity, our ability to use it for drinking, etc. But inference requires a major premise, a statement of concomitance between the major term (i.e., truth) and the middle term (i.e., any instance of successful practical activity); this concomitance must be based on instances of the co-presence and co-absence of the major term with the middle term; in the absence of the concomitance and the illustrative instances, no inference can be made as to the present cognition being true. Now, in the very first instance of cognition, how could there have been any inference, involving the use of the major term 'truth (*pramātva*)' which is *ex-hypothesi* not previously known? We are thus forced to the conclusion that knowledge is not possible at all unless we admit that at least in the initial stage truth is self-evident. If this much is admitted, the fact that truth is apprehended by other means also cannot take away from its essentially self-evident character. The opponent may imagine that at least a negative inference about the absence of error (or non-validity) is possible in the first instance of cognition; this might be possible, i

¹ On the discussion of doubt, see *PB*, 513, 514.

non-validity were self evident, but that is not so, in the view of either the objector or the Siddhantin, *apramanya* being always *parato grāhya*. Further, the absence of non validity does not necessarily lead to the inference that the conclusion is true, it only establishes a distinction from what is other than true, if it be taken as an instance of double negation, then the first negation would presuppose a knowledge of what is negated that is, of truth (and with this we are landed in our original difficulty), if it be taken as a concept applicable to what does not come within knowledge at all, and hence cannot be characterized either as valid or non-valid, then from the denial of non validity, no conclusion can be drawn as to truth.¹

30 Nor is it possible to say that the relation of the object to the attribute (*tadvattva*) being known through a different source of knowledge (say, the statement of some one else), this may lead up to the apprehension of truth as the major term in the suggested inference, for, this other means of knowledge has no claims superior to those of the original cognition (*vyavāsaya jñāna*) in apprehending *tadvattva*, and reflective cognition supervening thereon may well manifest its truth, without the intervention of any inferential process.²

31 Further, the inference guaranteeing truth has to proceed with the help of a middle term. Thus the conclusion 'there is fire in the hearth' is true, because, whatever burns is fire and this thing in the hearth does burn. But how do we know in the first instance that burning is the property of fire? If through observation, what reveals the truth of it? If another inference be needed, we are on our old round. The only way out would seem to be the acceptance of the self evidence of truth.³

32 With this, however, we are far from admitting that every cognition is true or that there is nothing to differentiate true cognitions from erroneous ones in respect of their origination. The causes of cognition as such do not guarantee its truth, certain further accessories being required in the origination of a true cognition. It would follow from this that the quality of being truly known (*pramatva*) can be present only in what is effected. There

¹ *PB*, p 515

² The suggested inference guaranteeing truth involves knowledge of truth, which in turn has to be established if at all by another inference and so on endlessly. To get out of the infinite regress the opponent seeks to base the apprehension of truth on the apprehension of *tadvattva* etc., by some means of knowledge other than inference. The objection to this is that any other means of knowledge stands in no better case than the original cognition in respect of apprehending *tadvattva*. See *PB* p 515

³ *PB*, p 515. *Apramanya* is *parato grāhya*. The discussion of this along with the nature of error is reserved for a later article

appear, however, to be some exceptions to this principle. Nīla-ghaṭatva (the quality of being a blue pot) is knowable, but it does not reside barely in what-is effected; substance is knowable, but it is not characteristic only of what is effected. In either case, there is a peculiarity to be noted. The quality of being a pot (ghaṭatva) is certainly characteristic of the effected; it is the addition of the qualification 'blue' that leads us to say that the concept is not characteristic only of what is effected. This need not make any difference to the pramāṭva of the concept. We may introduce a qualification into our conception of pramāṭva and say that it is characteristic only of what is effected, except in the case of that which is already determined to be an effect, because of some distinctive features other than the one now specially cognized. The exception is not a true one, since it only proves the rule. Again, in the case of the concept of substance, a host of phenomena may be determined to be effects because of their possession of substantiality, but they cannot all be traced to a common cause. The presence of substantiality is not thus determinative of what is effected. This consideration leads us to qualify still further the conception of pramāṭva and say that it is characteristic only of what is effected except where a common cause cannot be discovered for a host of effects whose effectedness is determined by the concept whose pramāṭva is under consideration.¹

33. A further and apparently more serious difficulty arises from the consideration that knowledge is eternal and cannot be characteristic only of what is effected (and consequently impermanent). The reply is that we are here concerned not with the eternal wisdom, but with the temporal functioning of the intellect.²

34. It is true that no one characteristic or set of characteristics can be pointed to as distinctive of the origination of true knowledge; but it is possible to point out such distinctive means of origination in the case of each pramāṇa, such as perception, etc. In the case of perception, what guarantees the truth of cognition is the contact of the sense-organs with many parts of the objects cognized.³ No explanation or justification is offered of this test. But evidently the perception of many parts is taken to warrant freedom at least from that kind of error which jumps to conclusions about the whole from the perception of a very small part, which runs away from the imagined snake when all that meets the eye is but the coiled appearance (of a piece of rope). It is worth noting that the test proposed is not very satisfactory. As pointed out later by the

¹ *PB*, p. 515.

³ *PB*, 5, 516.

² *Ibid.*

author of the *Advaita-Vedānta Paribhāṣa*¹, it fails where a jaundiced person persists in seeing the white shell as yellow in spite of repeated contact of the eye with the several parts of the shell; and it is manifestly inapplicable to the perception of the Self or of colour since neither of these has parts. The first of these objections could, perhaps, be met on the ground that a perfect condition of the sense-organs is an indispensable preliminary of all knowledge, and that what is here attempted is but the setting out of the further conditions operative in true knowledge. The second difficulty, however, is not so easily avoided. It would be interesting to know what the Siddhāntin has to say to it. No objections of any kind are raised or met in the works here under reference.

35. Reflection on a true ground or middle term is by some held to originate true inferential knowledge. But this view is defective, since it is obviously possible to arrive at an untrue conclusion even with the help of a true middle term, or to reach a true conclusion even though the middle term be not true. An example of the latter would be where the hill (which in fact is fiery) is inferred to be fiery on the ground of a mistaken cognition of mist as smoke. What brings about true inference is the uncontradicted knowledge of the presence of the major term in the minor (abādhita sādhyavatva pramā) or the knowledge that the minor as qualified by the middle also possesses the major. Now, we infer a conclusion in most cases not when we know already of the presence of the major in the minor; but we have at least a doubt that the major does so exist. In so far as this positive aspect of the doubt is not contradicted, we have what is necessary for the true inference. And even when the presence of the major term does not enter into our knowledge, as in the inference of the existence of clouds from the rolling of thunder, the Lord knows that the major exists in the minor and His knowledge provides the basis. And the formulation 'knowledge—that the minor as qualified by the middle possesses the major', serves to exclude even such error as occurs in joint cognition (samūhālam-bhāna pratyaya). Thus where a faggot and red beads are seen together to possess redness, the inference that the subject is fiery is valid only in the case of the faggot; for that alone as qualified by the middle term *redness* also possesses the major term *fieriness*.²

36. The view of true inference thus presented marks an advance on that which takes reflection on a true middle term to guarantee the truth of the inference. It may well be doubted, however, whether the advance is not made at the expense of the novelty of inference. If in inference there is already present (as originating it) the

¹ *AVP.*, pp. 264-265 (Calc. Univ. Edn); ² *PB.*, p. 516.

knowledge of the presence of the major in the minor, what is it that the process of inference brings about? In so far as it claims to prove anything, does it not beg the question, since the knowledge of the conclusion is presumed in any true inference? We are up against the Paradox of Inference, and the manner in which the Siddhāntin seeks to get over it is worthy of note. Inference may be applied even to what is already known, as when we demonstrate a truth for the benefit of another. In such a case there is no difficulty about novelty. When we infer for our own benefit, and the presence of the major in the minor is really in doubt, we still know that there is at least the possibility of that presence; and so long as that knowledge is not contradicted, we have all that is necessary for a true inference. The suggestion is valuable. But when that is accepted, we feel that after all we have nothing more in the origination of true inference than is present in the case of all inference; for, doubt and uncontradicted possibility of the presence of the major in the minor are characteristic of all inference, except that wherein the conclusion is already known. One may, therefore, feel with justification that the paratastva of inference, in respect of origination, has not been established.

37. As for reliable testimony, the condition which guarantees its truth is the speaker's knowledge of the true sense of what is spoken. It may be thought that *yogyatā* (compatibility) is the condition. But *yogyatā* means little more than the absence of ascertained lack of compatibility (*ananvaya niścaya viraha*); and this may characterize not merely truth, but also doubt. The requirement of knowledge on the part of him who declares, may be thought to be lacking in the case of the Vedas which are authoritative, but are said not to have an author. This does not concern the Siddhāntin, who holds that the Vedas, like the Śivāgamas, have been revealed by Śiva.

38. Here again, it is questionable whether for correct knowledge through testimony anything more is requisite than *tātparya* (purport) consisting in the fitness of words to convey a particular meaning. Dharmarājādharin, who sets forth this requirement in the *Advaita-Vedānta-Paribhāṣā* conceives of it as a necessary element of all Śābda jñāna. He does not, however, subscribe to the view that he who makes the statement should be aware of the purport. A parrot may make a statement, which, though not intended, is yet perfectly intelligible. A Vedic statement may be intelligible to one who rejects the idea of the Lord having revealed the Vedas. What is essential is *tātparya*, not *vakṛt-tātparya-jñāna*.¹ Such a view lays

¹ *AVP*, pp. 213-214; also *ILA*, pp. 164-165.

itself open to the objection that he who made the original statement must in every case have known the purport, e.g., he who taught the words to the parrot. And so long as the Lord knew what He was about, when he revealed the Vedas, that knowledge is bound to function when the learner understands the Vedas, irrespective of his recognition of the Lord's authorship. But the point of the Vedāntin's criticism for our purpose must be sought not in the rejection of yaktr-tātparyā-jñāna, but in the inclusion of tātparyā among the essentials of all Śābda-jñāna, so that it is not an additional element distinctive of correct Śābda-jñāna alone. We see, then, that the Siddhānta agrees with the Vedānta in accepting the self-evidence of knowledge, but differs in rejecting its self-dependence; but, in proving that true knowledge is dependent on conditions other than those characteristic of knowledge in general, it does not appear to have been very successful.

Note.—The works mainly relied on are *Paṇṣkara Āgama* (PA), *Paṇṣkara Bhāṣya* (PB), *Śaiva Siddhānta-Paribhāṣā* (SSP), Śivāgra-yogin's commentary on the *Śiva-Jñāna-Bodha* (SJBSgY), *Advaita-Vedānta-Paribhāṣā* (AVP), *Indian Logic and Atomism* (ILA), and Śrīkaṇṭha Sūri's *Ratna-Traja* (RTS). Other abbreviations used are *RSSM* for *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts* and (DCS) for *Der Çaiva Siddhānta*.

A NOTE ON MARKS DETERMINATIVE OF PURPORT.

(*Tātparyā-līṅga*).

BY

S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI

(*University Reader in Indian Philosophy*.)

The marks, whereby the significance of a passage is to be determined, have been enumerated in a now well-known couplet :

“Upakramopasaṃhārāvabhyāso 'pūrvatā phalam /
Arthavāḍopapattī ca līṅgam tātparyanirṇaye //.”

It is translated as follows by V. S. Ghate : “The beginning, the end, the repetition, the novelty, the object, the glorification, and argument—these are the canons for determining the purport.”¹ According to the translation, the marks would appear to be seven in number. There are, however, only six of them, for the beginning (*upakrama*) and the end (*upasaṃhāra*) are to be considered not independently, but in their mutual relationship. That this is what is meant is much clearer from another couplet which enumerates the same marks, but with a slight difference :

“Ādimadhyāntasaṅgānam abhyāso 'pūrvatā phalam /
Arthavāḍopapattī ca līṅgam tātparyanirṇaye //”².

The first of the marks here mentioned makes it abundantly clear that what should be considered in determining the purport is the harmonious sense of the introductory and concluding passages as well as of those in the middle.

The couplet first cited occurs both in Madhva's and Śrīkaṇṭha's commentaries on the *Vedānta Sūtras*. It has been said³ that the latter (possibly both) took it from the *Tattvadīpana* of Akhaṇḍānanda, a thirteenth century writer. The alleged borrowing is used in the determination of the date of Śrīkaṇṭha. In reply to this, it has been pointed out⁴ that Prakāśātman, the preceptor of Akhaṇḍānanda has quoted the same verse, with a modification only in the last quarter. This modification, however, is sufficient to weaken any argument to the effect that the present couplet is as old as Prakāśātman.

¹ *The Vedānta*, p. 53.

² Quoted in Bhojadeva's *Tattva-prakāśikā*, Śrī Kumāra's commentary, p. 4.

³ “The Date of Śrīkaṇṭha, etc.”, *JOR*, I, i.

⁴ *Jignyasa*, I, ii ; art : Śrīkaṇṭhācārya.

In these circumstances, it may be interesting to note that the couplet in question occurs in the *Lalit Trifali Bhāṣya* ascribed to Śaṅkara. In commenting on the name *sarta-reṇanti-tāṭparya-bhūmiḥ*,¹ the writer explains *tāṭparya* as *samanāya*, harmonious purport, the marks for determining which are contained in the couplet cited by him. It would thus appear that the couplet was at least as old as Śaṅkara.

It may, however, be thought that the *Trifali Bhāṣya* may be one of the works erroneously ascribed to Śaṅkara. This possibility cannot be wholly disproved, but there is one circumstance which raises a strong presumption against it. The present commentator takes the Vedānta to teach the doctrine of non-dualism, and says that he does not exhibit how the doctrine is arrived at from the texts, since this has been already done under *Vedānta Sūtra* 1, 1, 4 (the *samanāya adhikarṇa*) and further repetition is needless.² Such a remark would be most appropriate on the supposition that the same author wrote both the commentaries. The supposition that not the *Sārtraka-bhāṣya*, but some other advaita-commentary is here referred to has little to recommend it; for, it is inconceivable that any lesser light of advaita would have referred to the *samanāya adhikarṇa* without mentioning the name of the great commentator in terms of humility and devotion. Further, the use of the word "established (*pratiṣṭhāpitam*)" would come most aptly from the mouth of Śaṅkara, the giant among advaitins, not from any other's.

¹ Memorial Edition of Śaṅkara's Works, xlii, 257.

² *akhaṇḍārtham vedāntiḥ bodhayanīti 'lālita samantayāt' ityadhikarṇe pratiṣṭhāpitam ityāham atītaḥ itareṇa*

REVIEWS

INDUSTRIAL WELFARE IN INDIA

BY

P. S. LOKANATHAN, M.A.

(*Reader in Indian Economics, University of Madras*)

This volume is the third of the series, *University of Madras Economic Studies*, and may be regarded as a valuable addition to the economic literature bearing on Indian problems.

Students interested in Labour questions will have met other useful productions by Indian or European economists dealing with several of the topics handled in the work under review. There is, however, no duplication, no idle repetition. The author has the advantage of being more up to date than his predecessors in the field—witness his inclusion of, and comment upon, the Trade Unions Act of 1926, chapter xiv. The preceding chapter on the 'Evolution of Trade Unionism' presents the same advantage of completeness, and these two illustrations are by no means exhaustive. There is this, besides, that he takes, as he is legitimately entitled to do, a special point of view throughout, and works out systematically the central idea of Indian Industrial Welfare which he undertook to develop.

Whatever relates to the conditions of Indian Industrial Labour deserves the close attention of the Indian reading public. Even statistics, in spite of their proverbial dryness, would repay being scanned by them. The author's method will, therefore, prove doubly attractive, as he does not expose himself to the reproach of making Labour economics a dismal part of 'the dismal science.' One cannot fail to be struck by the neat and synthetical mode of treatment which he applies, for choice of an example among others, to the subject of Indian Factory Legislation: the guiding principles underlying it are stated at the outset, and the comparison with similar legislation in England further enhances the excellence of the process followed by the author.

In short, clearness, sobriety in judgment, the marked absence of querulous rhetoric, thoroughness in essentials and the elimination of digressions and irrelevant details are conspicuous throughout Mr. Lokanathan's original piece of work.

Thanks to the discovery of the 'Indus Valley Civilisation', Śaivism is proved beyond doubt to be pre-Āryan. From the objects found in the excavations at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, it is evident, that people of those times were worshipping Śiva both in the anthropomorphic and Linga forms⁵. Further, the Śakti cult also has its relics in the excavations. At Harappa Linga seals and objects continued to be discovered until as late as 1946⁶. Almost all the qualities that are attributed to Śiva in later Hinduism, are found in embryo in the seals and objects discovered there. One seal is very important⁷. The representation of Śiva having more than one face, his being Mahayogi in yōgic posture, his being lord of beasts 'Pasupati', and his wearing trident, have all their foundation in the image in the seal. But by that time, the bull does not appear to have been absorbed in the Śaiva cult, and had an independent place in worship⁸.

John Marshall avers that the word Śiva was derived from a Dravidian root meaning 'Red'⁹. Besides, Śiva is identified with Āiyānār of Southern India¹⁰. Further, Father Heras has also demonstrated that Mohenjo-Daro culture was Proto Dravidian in character. By the above and other indications, we can safely conclude, that the cult of Śiva and his worship in the form of Linga were co-ordinated and existed, as early as Indus Valley Civilisation, which was undoubtedly pre-Āryan by some Millennia¹¹.

This pre-Āryan Śiva became identified with Vēdic Rudra in later times. There are some indications to find out, when this identification was completely effected. Except God Rudra, Śiva, does not find a place in the Vēdic Pantheon, though the word is found a number of times¹². The words 'Śivāyaca-Śivatarāyaca' in Śatarudriya did not attain that denotation. The very use of the comparative degree in the text is proof positive that the words were used in the sense "auspicious, and more auspicious"¹³. All scholars agree that until Śvētāśvatara Upaniṣad Śiva, as the name of a God, did not come into use, and the identification with Rudra did not take place. In Ṛgvēda, Rudra was a beneficent God, and by the time

5 Mohenjo Daro and Indus Valley Civilisation John Marshall Vol I pp 48 57
Further excavations in Mohenjo-Daro pp 407 412 408 570

6 Bulletin of Archaeological Survey of India Ancient India No 3 Jan 1947

7 Mohenjo Daro and Indus Valley Civilisation Plate XII No 17
History and Culture of the Indian People Vol I Vedic Age p 163

8 Mohenjo-Daro and Indus Valley Civilisation p 55

9 Śiva (Chiva) = red Śambhu (sembu) = copper History and Culture of the Indian People Vedic Age p 162

10 I shall say more about this when I treat Tamil Śivasiddhanta

11 The cult of Śiva is a characteristic of the People of Sind History and Culture of the Indian people Vedic Age pp 158 161 162

12 Chambers Encyclopaedia Vol No IX p 418

13 It is used as an adjective like a host of others

of Atharva-Vēda he became both beneficent and terrible to be propitiated. If we carefully read Śatarudrīya we will come to the conclusion, that Rudra was transforming into the God of thieves, robbers and wild tribes. All these qualities were already attributed by aboriginals and Dasyus to Śiva. This was the gradual transformation which ultimately led to the identification of Rudra, and Śiva. In this connection, it is significant that even to this day, there are aboriginal tribes, who though beyond the pale of Hinduism as such, worship Śiva and Śakti. From the Atharva-Vēda, we find that Śiva was a God of Vrātyas, whose permission had to be sought by Āryans for the performance of a sacrifice.¹⁴ From this we conclude that at the time of Atharva-Vēda, there were those who performed, and those who opposed sacrifices. This refers to a period of intermixture of the Āryans and Ādivāsīs. Śiva, who was the God of Ādivāsīs was elevated to a position of Vēdic God.^{14a}

I shall now try to find out when the word 'Līṅga' came to mean the 'Phallus'. Līṅga comes from a root meaning 'stick'. But sanskrit grammarians connect it with a root meaning 'doing' 'performing'. 'Laguḍa' 'Lakuṭa' 'Lāṅgūla' are such words.¹⁵ The word did not come to mean 'Phallus' definitely in the Vēdic period, because the word in that denotation does not occur in any of the earlier Saṁhitas. In 'Taithirīya-Nārāyaṇōpaniṣad' the word 'Līṅgāya' occurs many times. Among them there is one 'Ūrdhava Līṅgāya'. This word should not be taken to mean 'of raised organ', but should be interpreted to mean 'a deity worshipped by celestials also in the shape of Līṅga'.^{15a} We thus see that by that time the word 'Līṅga' did not come to be applied to the 'male organ'. By examination of the various places where the word occurs, we find that anterior to Pāṇini the word meant only a symbol or sign.¹⁶ If not, the word could not have been applied in all the three genders.

The above Anuvāka in the Nārāyaṇōpaniṣad gives a clue into the reason why Śiva was worshipped in the form of Līṅga.^{16a} The

14. Śaiva Paribhāṣā. Mysore University. (Introduction).

14a. This idea of mixture was beautifully brought out in a number of novels written by Shri K. M. Munshi in Gujarati. Some of them have been translated into Telgu by Pandit Anjaneya Śarma of the Dakṣiṇa Bhārat Hindi Prachār Samiti, Hyderabad.

15. History and Culture of the Indian People. Vēdic Age p. 163.

15a. "Śāyana's commentary on Taittirīyāranyaka." Ānandāśrama edition. Vol II, p. 838.

“ ऊर्ध्वलोकेष्वपिगीर्वाणैः लिंगरूपेण स्थापयित्वा पूज्यमानायेत्यर्थः ॥

16. "The Līṅga appears to be both in its form and name as Austric or Proto-Austroloid origin."

16a. "लीयंते यत्रभूतानि निर्गच्छन्ति पुनः पुनः ।

तेन लिंगं परं व्योम निष्कलः परमश्चिवः" (Sūtasamhitā).

interpretation given above supplies the reason. Linga the symbol of Śiva, transcends space. It begins beneath the earth, passes through the sky to the third world, where it is worshipped by Devas. Its shapelessness (formlessness), and endlessness were thus brought out. This quality gives it a unique significance.

It is in the post-Vēdic literature that the word 'Linga' has come to mean 'Phallus' on the principle of analogy or Lakṣaṇā. In the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā there are six 'capacities of showing the meaning of a word', and Linga is one of them.¹⁷ There 'Linga' means one of such capacities. This new meaning that the word attained was exploited by the Purāṇic Hinduism, and stories were woven over it. Further this interpretation of the word is carried back, and the original symbolism was forgotten. This idea had proved a handle for the interested foreigners to cast aspersions on India and Hindu Culture. Some of our own scholars have followed them in this insinuation.¹⁸

Further, image-worship is alien to Ṛgvēda, but Śaivism mainly depends upon the Linga worship. Therefore, the stories that are woven round the idea of Śiva Linga ought to belong to the times of Purāṇic Hinduism. This application of post-Vēdic and Purāṇic mythology to a pre-Vēdic cult, and to decide a question a priori is neither research nor history. "The Pre-Āryan Śaivism has a definite belief in one supreme being, that being Śiva, and therefore it is against the very conception of the Ṛgvedic people."¹⁹

I will now quote the opinion of Father Heras about this question who deals it from another point of view. "In the late Vedic period when Viśvāmitra led ten tribes against Bhāratha, whose king Sudās was the patron of his rival Vasiṣṭha, he gathered round him Āryan and Dravidian tribes." Ahe Aṇinas and Śivas were certainly Dravidians.²⁰ We therefore understand, that by the late Vēdic period there was a Dravidian tribe called 'Śivas' which should have been the 'Śaiva sect'. Further, it is stated that the Āryans accepted the ancient Dravidian God AN or ĀNDIVANAM. "This God was finally worshipped by all Āryans but they called him Śiva for He

Bhandarkar takes the time still later as far as the time of Patatanjali. Śaivism Vaiṣṇavism and minor systems of religion p. 115. Vatsyayana does not use the word Linga.

17 Śrī Linga Vakya Prakaraṇa Sthana and Samakhyā

18 The latest instance may be quoted in the words of Shri K. M. Munshi. As regards Śiva Linga. Mr. Bullit has resurrected a doubtful view of the proto-historic origin of a religious cult and insinuated a vulgar attribute to a living and religious faith round the Linga which for centuries has been accepted as the formless embodiment of God Śiva. (Hindu dated 21-10-51)

19 Introduction to Mystic teachings of Haridasas of Karnataka.—Father Heras

20 What India Thinks. New Vistas in Indian History.—Father Heras p. 118

was worshipped by the Śivas (Śaivas).²¹ This is corroborated by Banerji when he says, "the Vēdic literature contains no reference to any female deity to which the Durga or the Devi of the present might even approximate. Even Śiva and Viṣṇu as they are represented in worship at the present, contain elements of non-Āryan origin. Śiva with his emblem is evidently a non-Āryan deity, whose admission to Indo-Āryan Pantheon caused bitter strife."²² It has even been averred that the culture that Agastya brought from the North to the South was, what some time before carried from the South to the North, and which was brought back.²³ Discussing what he calls 'Āryanisation of the South' Father Heras pertinently asks, 'Was Śiva acquainted with the Vēdas? Was he not himself a God of Dravidians in his original denomination Āṇḍivanam? Brahma and Viṣṇu were unknown to southerners. Śiva was their own God well known to them.'²⁴

"As there is a reference to Śiva in Ṛgvedic life, Śiva may not be a later intruder in the Hindu pantheon." So a scholar says.²⁵ I have examined carefully the references given. Ṛgvēda II.i.6. and II.xxxiii.9. do not contain the word Śiva. So these references do not help the scholar's theory. The third reference X.92.9. contains the word Śiva but it is used in the meaning "Sukhakarāḥ" and has no reference to actual God Śiva.²⁶

Strata in Śaivism.

I shall now deal with the question of different strata in Śaivism, generally current in India, before militant Viraśaivism rose with the advent of Basava in the Karnaṭaka country. These strata may be stated as follows:—

1. (i) Śuddha Śaivism.
(ii) Kāṣhmīri Śaivism.
2. Śaivasiddhānta of Tamils.
3. Mīśra Śaivism.
4. Sāmānya Śaivism.
5. Viraśaivism.

21. Ibid., p. 119. (Brackets are mine.)

22. Pre-historic Ancient and Hindu India. Banerji. p. 19.

23. "From the South they (Āgamas) seem to have pushed up north, and then later to have turned back to the South, when they helped to drive Jainism and Buddhism."—Śaivasiddhānta—Violet Paranjoti. p. 3.

24. What India Thinks. p. 118.

25. Vēdic Age. p. 189.

26. Ṛgbhāṣya, Maxmuller. Vol. 4, p. 299.

I shall say a few words about them *seriatim* ²⁷

1 (1) This was the continuation of the pristine pre-Āryan Śaivism gradually influenced by Āgamas and Purāṇic Hinduism. Among the votaries of this cult the following may be mentioned

- (1) Pāsupatas
- (2) Kāpālikas
- (3) Kālāmukhas
- (4) Gōrakṣanātha sect
- (5) Rāsēśvara sect

About the 10th and 11th centuries Pasupata sect was widely diffused from Rajasthān to Mysore, and seems to have penetrated into Āndhra Dēśa in the east. Kāpālika does not seem to have entered the Āndhra Dēśa, but Kālāmukhas are seen there particularly in Guntur District. The other sects flourished in the North. These sects practised all the rituals ordained in the Āgamas including the wearing of the Linga, though it was not considered compulsory ²⁸

1 (ii) Kāshmiri Śaivism ^{28a} does not appear to have made any head-way in Southern India. Tradition says that Śiva himself, seeing the decadence of Śaiva cult, asked Dūrvāsa to revive it. He in his turn taught it to his three sons, Tryambaka, Āmardaka and Śrīnātha. What he taught to his first two sons became Kāshmiri Śaivism, and that taught to his third son became Siddhānta of the South. This tradition has to be examined, because both the schools differ widely. The two above sects appear to have observed Varnāśramadharmā

2 I now come to the Śaivasiddhānta. According to the tradition, its followers claim it to be indigenous. "It has been said that the Āgamas represent the old products of Dravidian literature, that in prehistoric times they were written in the Dravidian (Tamil) language, and that a great part of them was lost in a flood which swept over the land south of Cape Comorin, the chief dwelling place of the old Dravidas. Only remnants of the old Āgamas

27 'शैव चतुर्विधप्रोक्त समासाच्छृणुष्वमुख
सामान्य मिश्रक चैव शुद्धवीर यथाश्रम"

Vatulagama

The boundaries of these cults cannot be distinctly drawn.
28 Its (Pasupata) earliest traces are found in Huviṣkas coin A.D. 125-140. Fleet J.R.A.S. 1907 p. 419. Bhandarkar J.R.A.S. p. 151. They think that Lakulisa Pasupata was the original sect from which all the others sprang. Lakula was probably the author of Pancadhyayi in the First Century B.C. — Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Vol. XI p. 91.

28a Pratyabhijñā school

were translated into Sanskrit, and preserved in this form." "In fact the roots of Śaivism are deeply imbedded in the classical lore of the Tamils, the Sangam literature."²⁹

Apart from the truth or otherwise of the above tradition, scholars have been of the view that Śaivasiddhānta of the Tamils is indigenous, independant, and more ancient than the Śaivism, which prevails in other parts of India. I shall quote a few opinions:—

"It (Siddhānta) is peculiarly the south Indian and Tamil religion Śaivism is the old prehistoric religion of South India, essentially existing from the pre-Āryan times, and holds sway over the hearts of the Tamil people." ³⁰

"This system (Siddhānta) possesses the merits of great antiquity in the religious world. It is heir to all that is most ancient in Southern India. It is a religion of Tamil people, by the side of which every other form is comparatively foreign religion."³¹

"While it (Siddhānta) prevailed in South India even before Christian Era, it received a great accession of strength from its opposition to Buddhism and Jainism, which along with Vaiṣṇavism, it overcame about the 5th or 6th century before Christ."³²

3. Miśra Śaivism claims the largest number of devotees in the Hindu Society. Ordinarily the followers of this sect believe in other deities with a predilection towards Śiva. They wear the ashes, and take part more heartily in the worship of Śiva. The chief feature of this cult is its toleration towards other cults, though it has a partiality towards Śiva. Votaries of this perform what is called "Pancāyatanapūja", but place the Śiva liṅga in the centre as the most important. The following is the placing of the five idols.

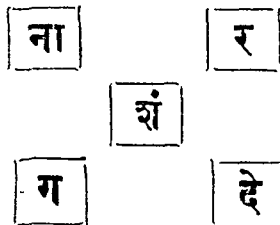
शं—शंकर

ना—नारायण

र—रवि

ग—गणपति

दे—देवी



4. There are some Śaivas who, believing Śiva as the supreme deity, do not follow all the rituals pertaining to the cult, as laid

29. Śaivasiddhānta. Violent Paranjoti. p. 3; Introduction and History of Śaivasiddhānta. G. Subramanya Pillai. p. 1.

30. Dr. G. U. Pope.

31. Rev. C. Gowdi.

32. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan.

down in the Āgamas They worship Linga when they see it, and do not wear it always as the more orthodox sects do This may be called Sāmānya Śaivism

5 The last is Virasaivism Some believe that it began with Basavēśvara But from a perusal of the Āgamas one has to conclude that it is mentioned in them long before Basava

“विश्वद्व वा विकल्पार्थे रसद्वयो रहितार्थव ।

विकल्परहितशैववीरशैवप्रचक्षते । ”^{32a}

Wearing of Linga in one of the five places is compulsory for them

“शिवलिंग कराद्यगे वीरशैवस्तु धारयेत् ”^{32b}

Virasaiva rituals are very rigid He should worship his own Linga in his hand, and should not eat anything which is not offered to that Linga

The later Virasaiva cult, which is now-a-days called Lingayat cult, of which Basava is the initiator, is more militant and intolerent than the old Virasaivism

There is an initiation ceremony called Dikṣā, which is an important ritual It is a prerequisite for participation in esoteric rituals^{32c} After Dikṣā, Āgamas say, that no caste distinction should be observed

Literature

I will now say a few words about the literature of this religion Śaivism principally depends upon Āgamas, which some say were originally written in Tamil, and all except one were translated into Sanskrit There are others who say that all the 28 Āgamas were originally written in Sanskrit, one of which was translated into Tamil³³ Until Virasaivism came into being as an aggressive religion, Vēdas also were considered authoritative along with Āgamas But it must be admitted that there was a greater swing towards Āgamas “The siddhānta writers were, however, of opinion, either that the sources (Āgamas and Vēdas) are of equal importance or, if one has more merit than the other, it is the Āgamas that rank comparatively higher ”³⁴ Tirumūlār says that as between Vēdas

32a Viragama

32b Vatulagama

32(c) “वीरमाहेश्वरग्राह्य, शिवाद्वैतप्रकाशक,
परीक्षितेभ्यो दातव्य, शिष्येभ्यो नान्यथावचित् ”

33 JAOS Vol II Syllabuses of the Śivajñanabodham Hoisington p 137

34 Śaivasiddhanta Violet Paranjoti p 5

and Āgamas, the former are general, and the latter special, and that both are revelations of God.³⁵

While originally Śaivism was pre-Āryan, it came to be followed in later times by the Āryans including all the four castes. Brahmins held both the sources as authoritative and non-Brahmins depended upon Āgamas.³⁶ Śaivism in South India became therefore a religion mainly of non-Brahmins. This is supported by another fact. The Nāyanārs (63 in number)^{36a} as the most important expounders of the cult are non-Brahmins. Besides, there are a large number of muṭṭs in South India presided over by non-Brahmin Sanyāsis. The Āgamas are exclusively Śaiva in character, and the Vēdas are general authority for almost all cults. For the learned, both the sources appealed. In south India though the mass of Śaivas are non-Brahmins, they could follow the Siddhānta, because there was a large body of literature in Tamil, based on Āgamas, which was adequate for understanding, practice, and realisation. Vēdas and Āgamas therefore became subsidiary.

Conditions elsewhere, especially in Karnāṭaka and Āndhra Dēśa were different. The whole of Śaiva literature being in Sanskrit, was not understood by the masses. Therefore the strings of religion remained in the hands of Brahmins. A reaction therefore came, hating the Brahmins, discarding the caste system, and refusing the authority of the Vēdas. But the Āgamas retained their sanctity, which continued even under the aegis of the militant Viraśaivism.

Apart from the above literature on the Śaiva cult, there were some learned men, especially Brahmins, who brought Śaivism to the level of Vēdāntic system of philosophy, by commenting upon Brahmasūtras and other basic Vēdāntic works, at the same time expounding Śiva as the Supreme Lord. Srī Kanṭhaśivācārya, Srīpati Paṇḍita, Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhyā and many others belong to this galaxy of learned men.

Besides, there is a large mass of Purāṇic literature expounding the supremacy of Śiva, out of which Sūtasamhitā is considered most authoritative. It mentions the Āgamas, as also Buddhism and Jainism. Therefore the Āgamas should have preceded Sūtasamhitā.

35. Tirumantiram VII. p. 276.

36. They are 28 in number. They are as follows:— Kāmika; Yōgaja; Chintya; Kāraṇa; Ajita; Dīpta; Sūkṣma; Sāhasra; Amśumān; Suprabhēda; Vijaya; Nīśvāsa; Swāyambhuva; Amala; Vira; Raurava; Mākuta; Vimala; Chandra-jñāna; Bimba; Udgita; Lalita; Siddha; Santāna; Śarvokta; Pāramēśwara; Kiraṇa Vātūla. These Āgamas are also called Tantras or Śaivasiddhānta Samhitas.

36a. Cf. Puṣpadanta's Jain work called "Tisaṭṭimahāpuruṣaguṇālāṅkāra" where also 63 is the number of Mahāpuruṣas.

Śankarācārya, who flourished about 6th century A D mentions Sūtasamhitā, and Manickavācaka who flourished earlier mentions the Āgamas Therefore chronologically, they may be placed in the early centuries of the Christian Era Their authority is accepted by all Śaiva sects, including those who do not believe in Vēdas and Caste system

There is one question on which there is a difference of opinion Some are of the view that the wearing of Līṅga was not compulsory, and that great Māhēśwaras did not wear it There are others who say, that it is one of the chief tenets of the cult We find from the excavations in Mohenjo-Dāro and Harappa, that there are small Līṅgas, which John Marshall and others believe to be such as Śaivas carried along with their person Āgamas contain definite instructions that Līṅga should be worn by Vira-Śaivas, thereby hinting that it may not be compulsory for the others

II

ŚAIVISM—IN ANDHRA DĒŚA BEFORE BASAVA ³⁷

The Āndhras and the Kanāṭakas inhabited the Deccan proper They are neighbours, lived in contiguous regions, and their relations therefore were near For many centuries both the races were under the rule of the same powers The scripts of their languages were also akin to each other Their languages were both of Dravidian character Therefore the conditions under which Śaivism flourished in both places were almost the same Śrīsaīlam³⁸ otherwise called Śrīparvata had been from time immemorial the religious meeting ground of both the communities Their religious gurus lived there, and pilgrims gathered in large numbers both for worshipping the God, and serving religious masters for their grace

Though Vaiṣṇavism entered the Deccan, Śaivism held the field South India was the home of Vaiṣṇavism more than the Deccan Even to-day general Śaivism claims more followers in Āndhra Dēśa than Vaiṣṇavism Śrīsaīlam is to Śaivas, what Śrīrangam is to Vaiṣṇavas Buddhism and Jainism were also flourishing in the Deccan Śaivism as was practised at that time, did not dispense with Varnāśrama-dharma completely, while both Buddhism and Jainism discarded it That is the reason why both the latter became popular as against

³⁷ Introduction to Basavapurāṇam V Prabhakara Sastry p 67

³⁸ Mentioned by Huan-T-Siang as 'Po-Lō-Mo-lo-Ki-Li' But recent researches identify Śrīparvata with Nagarjunal onḍa

Śaivism which retained many of the customs of Vēdic religion. Buddhists and Jains also made Śrīśailam their stronghold.

The advent of Śankarācārya's Advitism towards the 6th century A.D. into the Deccan, was a blow to all the existing cults. Śaivism suffered along with Buddhism and Jainism. Later, Ramānuja's Vaiṣṇavism also came here, but occupied a subsidiary position. This was the background in which militant Vīraśaivism took its birth. Along with Basava some Pandits arose both in Āndhra and Karṇāṭaka who tried to save Śaivism from the danger. These stalwarts may be mentioned as follows:—

In Karṇāṭaka

1. Basava
2. Ēkāntarāmiah
3. Padmarasu

In Āndhra

1. Srīpati Paṇḍita³⁹
2. Sivaleṅka Mancana
3. Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita

We understand that many forms of Śaivism were prevalent in Āndhra Dēśa at that time. Āgamas were high authorities for the Siddhānta. The teachings of Nāyanārs and their lives became objects of praise. The Siddhānta from South wielded great influence on Śaivism in the Deccan. We have already noticed that Pāsupata Kālāmukha cults spread over the Deccan including Āndhra Dēśa. But as has already been stated, the caste system found an honourable place in the daily life of Śaivas. They could not completely discard the authority of Vēdas. One of the great Śaiva Paṇḍits is said to have exclaimed "I cannot discard my relations with the caste system Oh! Basavalīṅga". However much these Paṇḍits attempted, they were not successful in stemming the tide of Advitism and Jainism.

The western Cālukyās were Jains and gave every prop to Jainism. So also were the rulers in Āndhra Dēśa. History tells us that almost all religions flourished under royal patronage. Sometimes persuasion, other times persecution, patronage often-times, became the methods by which religions extended their influence.

39. The families of 1 and 2 are still flourishing. Introduction to Paṇḍitārādhyā Charitam. Dr. C. Narayana Rao.

Towards 1155 A.D. an incident happened which is a landmark in the history of Śaivism in the Deccan.

Bijjala, who was a feudatory of Cālukya Emperors of Kalyāṇi seized power and became independent. Cālukyas at that time had to save themselves from Kākatīyas in the North, and Hoyasālas in the South. This proved an opportunity for Bijjala. Inscriptions say that he was originally a Jain, but Basava a remarkable man, conscious of a divine purpose, became his prime-minister. He was a very staunch Śaivite, and with the help of Bijjala, whom he converted, he spread the castless, militant Viraśaivism. The discarding of Varṇāśramadharma, and the use of every means to spread Śaivism were the two cardinal features of this cult. The same tradition, ritual, and other austerities of Śaivism mentioned in Āgamas were followed most scrupulously. There is no doubt that Basava used force for the spread and preservation of the cult. Buddhism and Jainism which held the field so far had to retire. For nearly a century Viraśaivism was spread with missionary zeal.⁴⁰

Tradition and Literature.

The tradition was what was founded on Āgamas. Unlike Siddhānta of Tamils, Āndhra Śaivism lacked indigenous literature for a long time, and had to depend on the Āgamas and Purāṇas only. Subsequently other works were written, but even they were in Sanskrit. Unless the doctrines are treated in popular language, the spread of the cult cannot be wide and quick. The fact that caste system was discarded by Viraśaivism gave a leaven to some extent for its spread, but popular literature was a desideratum.

We have seen before that Śiva had five faces. The tradition says that five Ācāryas sprang from these, and have been appearing in each yuga. The following different names of these Ācāryas in different yugas are accepted by tradition.

Names in the Four Yugas.⁴¹

<u>ORIGINAL</u>	<u>KṚTA</u>	<u>TRĒTA</u>	<u>DVĀPARA</u>	<u>KALI</u>
Vira	Ēkākṣara	Eka-Vaktra	Rēnuka	Revanasiddha
Naṇḍi	Dvyakṣara	Dvi-Vaktra	Dāruka	Marulasiddha
Bhrugu	Tryakṣara	Tri-Vaktra	Gajakarna	Ēkōrāma
Vṛṣa	Caturakṣara	Catur-Vaktra	Ghantākarna	Paṇḍitārādhyā
Skanda	Pancākṣara	Pañca-Vaktra	Viśvakarna	Viśvārādhyā

It is also believed that in Kali-yuga there were five muṭṭas

40. Basavapurāṇam. Introduction. V. Prabhakara Sastry. p. 57.

41. Pāṅkurika Sōmanātha Kavi. B. Thammayya. p. 23.

established by the five above Ācāryas respectively, situated in the following places.

- i. Kolanupāka (Hyderabad State)
- ii. Ujjini (Mysore State)
- iii. Himavatkēdara (North India)
- iv. Śrīśailam (Kurnool District)
- v. Kāśī (Benaras)

Tradition also says that the muṭṭ at Kolanupāka was transferred to Bālehonnur (Mysore State) even during the time of Rēṇuka, because perhaps the Jain influence that existed there before had died down. The muṭṭ at Śrī-śailam is now at Guntakal under the name 'Bhikṣāvṛtti muṭṭ'. The others are where they were.⁴²

I shall now mention two points on which there is acute difference of opinion.

i. Was there Vīraśaivism before Basava?

ii. Did wearing of Liṅga exist prior to the advent of Basava.

The second question depends upon the first, and so the first point deserves notice. We have already seen that Vātūlāgama mentioned the existence of Vīraśaivism. Its chief features and rituals also were given, of which wearing of Liṅga is an important one. The term Vīraśaiva also is as old as Āgamas. Āgamas are undoubtedly prior to the advent of Basavēśwara. We have also spoken about a ritual called 'Dikṣā'. This initiation lays down very rigid rules with regard to the following:—

- i. Vibhūti
- ii. Rudrākṣa
- iii. Pādōdaka
- iv. Liṅgārcana
- v. Liṅgadhāraṇa^{42a} and
- vi. Prasādasvīkarāṇa.

Discarding all other Gods, and intolerance of other cults, are the two chief characteristics ordained to a Vīraśaiva. This intolerance

42. Ibid; Introduction to Rēṇukavijayam. C. Veerabhadra Sarma p. 35. The Maharāṣṭra tradition appears to be different. A friend of mine, a great scholar, by the name Chidiremaṭham Veerabhadra Sarma a Liṅgāyat, was called upon by Bhaktas to preside over the Viśvārādhya muṭṭ at Benares. He was annointed over the muṭṭ for some years, and attained Nirvāṇa recently. These muṭṭs have diffused themselves in later times, and now there are innumerable Śaiva muṭṭs throughout the country.

42a. "मूर्ध्निकं ठेभूजे हस्ते हृत्स्थले नाभि मंडले"

(Vātūlāgama). The term Vīraśaiva occurs frequently in Siddhāntaśikhāmaṇi, and there is a separate Paricchēda completely on Liṅgadhāraṇa. Siddhāntaśikhāmaṇi Paricchēda 6.

took the shape of persecution at the hands of Basva and others. But this method does not appear to have been vigorously followed in Āndhra Dēsa. There are some signs of Jainism having suffered in places like Pudūr, Jōgipet, Kolanupāka and Alampūr. But this is little, when compared with what was done elsewhere. This is the chief reason why the militant, aggressive Lingāyat cult is more prevalent in Karnātaka than in Āndhra. In Āndhra the cult appears to have been mellowed by the influence of the neighbouring Sāmānya Śaivism.

There is definite evidence that there were small Lingas which were capable of being carried on one's person, in Mohenjo-Dāro findings, and John Marshall avers their existence and use. When we admit the first point, we cannot but admit the other. But there was compulsory wearing of Linga after Dīksā. We have already seen that this was not observed by all Śivadvījas (Āradhayas) wore Lingas in their necks, along with the sacred tread.

I shall now turn to their religious literature. Upto the advent of Basava, and for some time after, Āgamas formed the relevant literature. Along with Āgamas, the most important works of this period may be stated as follows —

- i Śrīkanṭhabhāṣya by Śrīkanṭhasivācārya ⁴³ A D 980
- ii Siddhantaśikhāmanī by Śvayōgīsivācārya About 8th century A D ^{43a}
- iii Śrīkarabhāṣya by Śrīpatipandita 12 century A D
- iv Rēnukavijayacampū by Isanaśivaguru 10 century A D
- v Rēnukavijaya by Siddhanatha ⁴⁴ A D 960
- vi Kṛiyāsāra by Nilakanthācārya
- vii Śivatatvaratnākara by Keladi Basavana ^{44a}
- viii Isānasivagurupaddhati by Isānasivācārya ^{44b}

All the above works are now available in print.

There was a particular hierarchy of Śaivasiddhas belonging to Gōlakimaṭha ⁴⁵. Among this brotherhood, one Sōmaśambhu wrote a Paddhati in his own name. Members of this muṭṭ diffused them-

43 Some say that this work is older than Śankara's commentary. The following guruparampara is given Śiva-Skanda-Vamadeva-Śrīkanṭha (Śivadvaita-nirnaya Introduction S S Sastri)

43a It is in the form of a conversation between Renuka and Agastya

44 The last verse gives this date

44a Last part of 17th century and the beginning of 18th century A.D

44b Nos 4 and 8 are by the same author

45 Introduction to Basavapurānam pp 75, 76

selves throughout the country. It is said that one of them was a Dikṣā-guru of a Kalacuri King.⁴⁶ A branch came to the South, and went as far as Kēraḷa, and established minor muṭṭs. One of the members Īśānaśivācārya was the guru of Emperor Rājarāja Cōla, and wrote the work mentioned above in No. 8, which is considered very authoritative. From Kēraḷa, a branch came to the Telugu country, a member of which Viśvēśvara Śivācārya became the guru of Emperor Gaṇapati Rudradēva of Warangal.⁴⁷ He established many muṭṭs, the most important of which was at Mandāḍam. The branch continued to live in the Āndhra country.⁴⁸ Aghōraśivācārya, a famous member of this brotherhood, had many Brāhmin families as his disciples. This brotherhood played a great part for nearly three centuries in the Āndhra Dēśa. The influence of this order to a great extent softened the militant Vīraśaivism there. Many Vīraśaiva families retained their Vēdic rights, and their religious tolerance, in spite of their being Śaivas. Only one ācāra was discarded. Along with all other Śaiva sects these Ārādhyas also adopted burial of the dead, and gave up the age-long practice of cremation.

Towards this time a very important circumstance happened, which stopped to a large extent the spread of non-Vēdic religions. Nannayabhaṭṭa, the first Telugu poet wrote Mahābhārata at the bidding of his patron Rājarājanarēndra, who, seeing the decay of Vēdic religion, ordered Nannaya to translate Mahābhārata into Telugu, the language of the people. This circumstance served much to stop the spread of non-Vēdic faiths in Āndhra Dēśa proper.

There is a unique feature among the Āndhras, which distinguishes them from other races. The education of every child begins with "Om, Namaḥ, Śivāya". This is the index of the sway, Śiva and Śaivism have over Āndhra people.

When we look into the derivation of the word Telugu, and its undoubted connection with 'Triglipton' and 'Trilingon', the presence of Liṅga in the words 'Triliṅgas', as the name of race, and 'Triliṅga' as the name of the country and language of the people, we cannot but feel, that there is an indissoluble, and perennial connection between "Triliṅgas" and Liṅga worship. To derive the word

46. Malkāpur Inscription.

47. "विद्यामंटपवर्तिनं गणपतिक्षमापालदीक्षागुरुं,
श्रीविश्वेश्वरशंभुमीक्षितवतांतेचक्षुषीचक्षुषी "

(Malkāpur Inscription).

48. Preface to Īśānaśivagurudēvapaddhati, Mahāmahōpādhyāya Haraprasada Sastry. (Trivandrum Edition),

Trilinga from the Kākatiya empire is not historical, because the word Trilinga existed before the Kākatiya Empire.⁴⁹

WRITERS OF THE INTERIM PERIOD

I gave six names of great Śaiva writers and preachers of this period. Three of them were from Karṇāṭaka and the other three from Āndhra. Many of them appear to be more or less contemporaries of Basavēśvara. Basava himself saw the necessity of writing in the language of the people, and preferred song to prose. Song would appeal to the people more easily. His songs are called 'Vacans', meaning "sayings". Many of them are sung even to-day, and some of them have been translated into Telugu. If Basava knew Sanskrit was doubtful. He used to sing his songs himself, preach, and get converts.

Ēkāntarāmiah was a native of Kuntala country, and was a devotee of Śiva from his childhood.⁵⁰ There was a Sōmanātha temple in his native town. He was so devoted to God Sōmanātha that he visited almost all the Sōmanātha temples in South India. While he was worshipping Sōmanātha at Lakṣmeśvar, in Dharwar district, he got a divine inspiration to settle at Ablur, where he defeated many great Jain pandits in disputations. He was responsible for many conversions in Karṇāṭaka country. He was an unswerving devotee of Śiva, and therefore called Ēkāntarāmiah.

Padmarasu was a grandson of Śivayōgimallikārjuna. He belonged to an aristocratic family, and was for a time minister under a petty chieftain. After some time he settled at Bēlur, and once, at the invitation of King Ballala of Dvārasamudram, he went there, and defeated a Vaiṣṇava pandit, whereupon, the defeated pandit was converted. Subsequently, he advanced the spread of Śaivism, finally went to Banaras, and attained Nirvāṇa. He wrote some works in Sanskrit which served a great deal in propagating the cult.⁵¹

A few words, about the three Āndhra writers who were called Paṇḍitatraya. Śrīpati paṇḍita was an Āndhra brāhmin and was a native of Vijayawāda on the banks of Kishna river. He is said to be the guru of Anantapāla, a general under Vikramāditya VI of

49 Lakshmanarāya vyāsāvali The word 'Trilinga' is contained in Siddhānta-śikhāraṇi Vide F.N 56 p. 18 It is a work written in 8th century A.D before Kākatiya Empire

50 Introduction to Basavapurāṇam p 52

51. Sānandacaritam; Dikṣabōdhini. (Translated into Telugu)

Western Cālukya dynasty.⁵² His family is still existing at Elakurru, a village in Gudivada Taluq of Krishna district. Mention has already been made of a commentary he wrote to the Brahmasūtras. Though tradition couples him with the other pandits, he appears to be at least half a century prior to Basava. His name is remembered as that of one of those who made the position of Śaivism unassailable on philosophic grounds.

Sivaleṅka Maṅcana was also an Āndhra Brāhmiṇ. Like Padmarasu, he took part in many wordy battles, and defeated Jains in arguments. He went to Banaras, and in discussions established the supremacy of Śiva. He returned to Kalyāṇi, and met Basavēśvara who honoured him. There are many works in Kannaḍa about him, and his religious exploits. His family exists even to-day.

The last of this galaxy is Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita. He was a native of Dākṣarāma, a Śaivite Kṣētra on the banks of the Godāvārī. Paṇḍitārādhyacaritam mentions his life and work. He is said to have written a number of works, but only two of them are extant.⁵⁴ It is said that he was going to Kalyāṇi to meet Basava, but on his way heard that Basava died. It is undeniable that the services of the above six pandits conduced very much to the survival and spread of Saivism to some extent.

MUṬṬS IN ĀNDHRA DĒŚA

Out of the five muṭṭs already mentioned, the first was established at Kolanupāka, and subsequently transferred to Bālehonnur (Mysore State).⁵⁵ Rēṇukācārya was born at Kolanupāka in Nalgonda district of the Hyderabad State. This village is inhabited even to-day by a large number of Viraśaivas, though some remains of Jainism are also found.⁵⁶

One strange coincidence is noteworthy. The name Sōmanātha is very common in Āndhra Dēśa. There are a number of shrines by this name, and many Śaivas and others also wear this name.

52. Introduction to Basavapurāṇam. p. 63.

53. In Introduction to Paṇḍitārādhyacaritam. Dr. C. Narayana Rao pp. 30-33.

54. Śivatatvasāram; Śrīmukhadarśanagadyam.

55. Other names of Balehonnur are: "Kadalīpura; Rambhāpura".

56. "तथारेवणसिद्धस्यकुल्यपाक पुरोत्तमे ।

सोमलिगात्तुजननं आवासः कदलीपुरे" Svāyambhuvāgama.

"अथत्रिलिङ्गविषयेकुल्यपाकाभिषेपुरे ।

सोमेश्वरमहालिगात्प्रादुरासीत्सरेणुकः" Siddhāntaśikhāmaṇi.

Rēnukācārya, and Pālakuriki Sōmanātha and many other Śaivas are said to have been born by the grace of God Sōmanātha. The fame of Sōmanātha in the North as one of the most famous shrines, perhaps spread to the south, and may be the reason for this popularity.

Śrīśailam, as I have already said, is in Kurnool district, a part of Āndhra country. The whole population around, are Āndhras and a large number of Āndhra pilgrims gather there for Śivarātri every year.

The existence of two important muṭṭs one of which was established by the great Rēnukācārya, accounts to a large extent for the popularity of Śaivism in Āndhra country. Even Bellary district forms a part of Āndhra Dēśa. In fact it is one of the districts of Rāyalaseema, which the Āndhras want to be included in the Āndhra Province to be created. The existence of two important Muṭṭs, many Sōmanāth shrines, and a number of paṇḍits expounding Śaivism, are proofs that at one time Śaivism was widespread in Āndhra Country.

In reading the life of Rēnukā, we come across with a remarkable incident. It is stated therein that Śankarācārya after the composition of Sūtrabhāṣya, became a devotee, and was in search of a proper guru. He met Rēnukācārya and requested his grace, Rēnukā finding a proper recipient, awarded him Dikṣā along with a Chandramouliśvara Liṅga. This incident has been recorded in many old works I will state a few.⁵⁷

- (i) "Śāṅkarācārya gave to his disciple the Chandramouliśvara Liṅga awarded to him by Rēnuka along with a Ganapati idol and ordered him to worship them."⁵⁸
- (ii) "शकराचार्यसनामयोगीद्राय महोज्ज्वल ।
चद्रमौलीश्वरलिङ्ग दत्तवानतिविश्रुत ।
श्री रेणुवर्गणेशाल्यरेवणसिद्धदेक्षितः"⁵⁹
- (iii) "ततस्सरेवणासिद्ध सप्रदायप्रवर्तिना ।
शकराचार्यवर्णाणारपर्यन्तमागत
रेवणासिद्धसंप्राप्त चद्रमौलीशमप्यदात्"⁶⁰

A few sentences from the learned introduction to the above book, of Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastry are worth quoting. While mentioning about the Rēvana-siddha Sampradāya which the Ācāryas

57 Rēnukavijayam (Telugu) S Suryanarayana Sastrī p 90

58 Guruvamsakāvyā—Vanī Vilas Press—Srirangam Sarga 3

59 Vēdānta Sara Virāṣaivacintāmaṇi Nanjanācārya

Rēnuka according to Śaiva tradition was in incarnation of Gaṇēśa

60 Śivatatvaratnākara Kelādi Basava p 105

of Śaṅkara line followed, he says, "The Liṅga of Chandramouliśvara which is still worshipped....in the Śringēri Muṭṭ is also said to have been presented to Vidyāraṇya by this direct Guru....Rēvaṇasiddha (Rēṇukā) we know, is a well known Śaiva teacher whom the Liṅgāyats still claim as one of the earliest Ācāryas. The Kēladi chiefs, who were mostly followers of the Liṅgāyat creed, were devoted adherents of Śringēri-Śaṅkarācārya Muṭṭ; perhaps also for this same reason viz. that the Śaṅkarācāryas were the followers of Rēvaṇasiddha sampradāya." It is also interesting to observe that, "In Śringēri there is greater bias towards Śiva and Śaivism.... though the founder of the great Śaṅkarācārya Muṭṭ was no respecter of creeds, nor made any distinction between Śiva and Viṣṇu"

There are also other places where this incident is mentioned. Bālehonnur and Śringēri are at a distance of nearly 15 miles apart in Mysore State. Chandramouliśvara is worshipped in Śringēri Muṭṭ even to-day. There is a statue of Śaṅkara preserved in Rēṇukā Muṭṭ. This strange coincidence has to be further examined. But it is a fact that all Śaṅkara's devotional stotras, belong to the later period of his life after he wrote the Sūtrabhāṣya.

One fact emerges from this. In Āndhra Dēśa the largest population are followers of Śaṅkara's Advaita. That they have a partiality towards God Śiva is undeniable. The actual Śaivas therefore, who consider Śiva as the Supreme Lord, have no cause to come into conflict with the Advaitins. Perhaps this is one of the reasons for the absence of religious rivalry and persecution on a large scale in the Āndhra Dēśa by Śaivas or of Śaivas.

LINGĀYATS AND JAṅGAMS

Viraśaivas are called Liṅgāyats in Karṇāṭaka and Jaṅgams in Telugu country, and both the sects have no caste distinction. As already submitted there were Viraśaivas among Brāhmiṇṣ, who worshipped Śiva as the only supreme deity, and wore Liṅgams in their necks. Some Jaṅgams wear them to their shoulders, some to their wrists, some to their waists, and still others in the neck by a thread. Generally these Liṅgams are inserted in caskets, which are of some metal, gold, silver, etc. according to the status of the wearer. The word Jaṅgaṃ comes from the word Jaṅgama, which is used by Viraśaiva Āgamas, in the sense of "Moving Liṅgas". Śiva has two forms, one of "Liṅga" and the other of "Moving Viraśaivas". Therefore, all Viraśaivas are considered the forms of Śiva, and are called

Jangams ^{60a} Jangams in Āndhra country follow many occupations. Some are traders, some are artisans (weavers, carpenters, tailors etc.) while some others are mendicants. Some of them are Arcakas in Śiva temples. Viśvabrāhmanas are also a class of Virāśaivas. They are generally smiths. Brāhmin Virāśaivas have disciples, whom they visit now and then and get presents. In the village economy, these Virāśaivas have been absorbed in important and necessary village occupations. This is a peculiar feature of the village in the Āndhra country, which perhaps is the background for happy and cordial relations which subsist till to-day.

III

PALKURIKI SŌMANĀTHA

Within a century from the middle of the 12th, the Virāśaiva cult expanded greatly in the home province of Basava. In spreading towards the east it was slightly tardy, until a few decades later, when Sōmanātha the greatest exponent of Virāśaivism in Telugu country arose, and spread it in Āndhra Dēśa. The present extent of Virāśaivism here, owes its spread to him. Therefore, it is pertinent here to treat him in some detail.

Though there is some difference of opinion about his date of birth, it is not wrong to state that he lived in the first half of the thirteenth century ⁶¹. His birth-place is also a matter of controversy, but it may be said to have been fairly settled by now, that it is Pālakuriki in the Hyderabad State, a few miles from Ghanapur station on Central Railway between Hyderabad and Warangal. There are many indications to prove this ⁶². He was named after the presiding Deity of the village. A statue of Sōmanātha is shown with half effaced letters "SO NA" indicating his name. The village is inhabited by Śaivas. It is a curious coincidence that the first Ācārya Rānuka and the greatest Āndhra exponent of Virāśaiva should belong to the same part of the country. His childhood and the various signs that he showed of future greatness, need not tarry us long. Suffice it to say, that he was born of a Brāhmin family, showed precocity even when young, and a partiality for God Śiva. As he grew older, his devotion towards Śiva increased gradually, and he was initiated into Dīkṣā. His austerities gave him the capacity to compose works of which there is a large variety. Finally

^{60a} Siddhantaskhamanī Pariccheda 11

⁶¹ Āndhrakavī Taranginī Vol III pp 143 144 Basavapurānam Introduction p 6

⁶² Ibid pp 17-20

he gave up caste, and became a Jaṅgam. The most important of his works are (i) Basavapurāṇam (ii) Paṇḍitārādhya-caritam.

The former treats about the life and teachings of Basavēśvara, and the latter about the life and doings of one of the greatest Śaiva scholars and devotees. Both the works are written in Dvipada metre, and the language employed is what is called "Jānu-Tenugu", easy flowing Telugu which can be easily understood by masses. These two works have become authorities on Viraśaiva cult. Basavapurāṇam is said to have been translated into Kannaḍa and Tamil.⁶³ In these works, Sōmanātha mentions the lives of Śiva-bhaktas including some of the 63 Nayanars of Tamil Siddhānta. His method of dealing with the subject, the manner in which it is treated, the easy metre employed, and the Jānu Tenugu full of colloquial and popular words and expressions, have served more than anything else, to propagate the religion in Āndhra Dēśa. A vast literature grew round him both in Kannaḍa and Telugu, and he is revered by the Viraśaivas as an Avatār. Many of his Telugu works have an impress of a popular character. He wrote some Sanskrit works also, of which Basavarājīyam (Sōmanāthabhāṣya) is the most important. These Sanskrit works cater to the more learned among Śaivas. They disclose his power of argument and expression, his captivating style, and his vast knowledge and erudition. He wrote many penygerics on Basavēśvara.⁶⁴ Some of his Stōtras are repeated daily by many Viraśaivas. In the history of that religion, his name stands second only, to that of Basavēśvara. His name is a house-hold word among Viraśaivas. He may be called an institution.

ŚAIVA KINGDOMS

We have seen that Royal patronage conduced to the spread of a religion. Viraśaiva received such patronage at that time. Kāka-tirpōla, the founder of Kākatīya Empire of Warangal was an elder contemporary of Bijjala. The Kākatīya family was Śaiva by religious persuasion, and during their reign Śaivism was exalted as the State Religion. All the Emperors were staunch Śaivas. We have already noticed that Kākatīya Gaṇapati-Rudra was a disciple of Īśānaśivaguru. Sōmanātha himself might be a contemporary of Pratāpa-Rudra I towards the end of 12th century, and is said to

63. Āndhrakavi Taraṅgiṇi Vol. III, p. 108.

64. "यस्संगीतनिधि, यमाहुरभवं, येनार्चितं सूनृतं, यस्मस्वस्ति, यतस्तदीयमुदभूद्यद्वीरशैवव्रतं ।
यस्यापांगसहोदरीचक्रुणा यस्मिन्महत्वादिकं, सत्त्वं त्रीणि जगति पाहिबसवामात्येशचूडामणी ॥"
(Basavōdaharaṇam).

have visited Warangal. An incident which occurred at that time is recorded in his works. Sanskrit poets like Vidyānātha, the author of *Pratāparudrayasobhūṣanam*, flourished in that court, who contributed as much for spread of Śaivism as for the spread of culture. A contemporary work called "*Kṛīḍābhīramam*" of doubtful authorship, vividly describes the Śaiva processions in the streets of Warangal on festive occasions. The attendance in those processions was more of non Brāhmins. This would give us the impression that Śaivism of that time was that of Viraśaiva variety, and that it was very popular among masses. Though there were religious debates, and consequent conversions, we do not find much, which can be called active religious persecution. This Empire was also called Trilinga empire, as three Śaiva shrines stood as its three corner stones. They are, in the east Dāksārāma on the banks of the lower Gōdāvarī, in the west Kālēsvaram on the upper Godāvarī in the Hyderabad State, and Śrīśailam in the South. The whole period till the disruption of the empire in the first half of the fourteenth century, is a glorious period in the history of Śaivism.

This tradition was continued by the early Vijayanagar emperors on one hand, and the Reddy kings of Addankī, Kondavidu and Rājamandry on the other.⁶⁵ Many inscriptions speak of gifts by Reddy kings to Śaiva Pandits and Gurus. Many of them are Ārādhyas (Śivadvījas). This is an indication that at that time there were both Brāhmins and non-Brahmins who are Virasaivas, and that there was neither great rivalry nor enmity among them. Great poets like Śrīnātha were associated with the spread of Śaivism.⁶⁶

The early dynasties of Vijayanagar, Sangama and Saluva were followers of Śiva. The Śaiva tradition was handed down to them by Vidyaranya, who after Śankara is the greatest figure in the religious firmament of South India. Along with Śaivism we have seen that he handed down Chandramoulīśvara also. He established two more Muṭṭs, Virūpakṣa and Puṣpagiri, under whose religious jurisdiction the whole of Āndhra country was. These Muṭṭs with partiality for Śiva encouraged Śaivism. In this manner, Samānya Śaivism and Viraśaivism spread in the Āndhra Dēsa side by side complementary to each other. This accounts for the peaceful relations, unlike as in Karnaṭaka and elsewhere. The Āndhra Śaiva kingdoms contributed to the growth of both the varieties of Śaivism. This brings us to the end of fourteenth century. So far, none of the previous ruling dynasties appear to have used the

65 Reddy Kings ruled for nearly a hundred years between A.D. 1350 and 1450.

66 There is a school of thought called Acalasiddhanta the propagators of which Vemana, Virabrahmam and others are Virasaivas.

sword, for the spread of Śaivism, nor do they appear to have shown hatred of the other cults. Besides, we find them endowing with gifts the shrines of other religions as well.

During these centuries, the influence of Islam began to gradually increase. Because Islam is no respecter of other religions, the respective conditions of these cults remained almost the same.

ŚAIVA SHRINES IN ĀNDHRA

As compared with the Viṣṇu shrines, the number of Śaiva shrines appear to be larger in Āndhra Dēśa. Along with Śrīśailam and Dākṣārām, Kālahasti one of the five elemental Liṅgas of Śiva (the Vāyu Liṅga) is situated in Chittor District of Āndhra Dēśa. Poet Dhūrjati composed a centum of verses with the makuta "Śrikālahastīśvarā". Perhaps it is not far wrong to say, that the conditions of Śaivism in Āndhra are now the same as those obtained at that time. There is a general saying among Telugu people, that one should not live in a place, where there is no Śiva temple. Śivarātri is observed most solemnly throughout the Āndhra Dēśa by all castes. Along with Śiva, his consort Śakti in her manifold manifestations, is worshipped by all classes of people in every village. Śiva and Śakti cults presuppose each other, and all worshippers of Śakti are Śaivas as well, and the converse is also true.

CONCLUSION

As I have already said there is no marked change in the circumstances then and now. If a census is taken, Śaivas of all varieties form the largest mass, and the most numerous in Āndhra Dēśa. But the fanaticism which is seen elsewhere, is largely absent here. Vīraśaivism has ceased to be a militant converting religion centuries ago, and therefore the Śaiva sects have become static. Vīraśaivas among Brāhmiṇs go by the name of Ārādhyas and non-Brāhmiṇs by the name of Jaṅgams. The latter are also called "Liṅgabalijas". Baliḡa is an appellation for Śūdras and those who are Śaives among them and wear Liṅgas are called by that name.

Now there is vast literature about this cult in the shape of Kāvyaś, Śatakas, lives of Bhaktas, rituals of the cult, and its philosophy. They include a number of translations of Sanskrit, Purāṇic, and other works.⁶⁷ But material to trace the history of the cult

67. "Vīraśaivavañjmayam" N. Venkat Rao. Bhārati, Silver Jubilee edition, p. 9. Among the later writers on Śaivism the most illustrious is Appayyadīkita, whose works are ornaments to any literature and Philosophy. Though Śrī-kāṇṡha and Śrikara wrote much, the word on Śaivādvaita must be considered to have been said by this learned philosopher poet.

KASHMIR ŚAIVISM

By

DR. T. M. P. MAHADEVAN M A , Ph. D.

There is a form of Śaivism popularly known as Kashmir Śaivism which is a kind of monism or non-dualism. The names by which the system is known are Trika, Spanda and Pratyabhijñā.¹ The name *Trika* primarily refers to the triple principle with which the system deals, viz Śiva-sakti-anu or pati-pāsa-pasu. Though the other schools of Śaivism also accept these three categories, Kashmir Śaivism regards the individual soul and the world as essentially identical with Śiva, and so the three, according to it, are reducible to one. The term *Spanda* indicates the principle of apparent movement or change from the state of absolute unity to the plurality of the world. And the expression *Pratyabhijñā* which means 'recognition' refers to the way of realizing the soul's identity with Śiva.

The beginnings of Kashmir Śaivism are to be traced to the Śiva-sūtras whose authorship is attributed to Śiva himself. The *Sūtras* are said to have been revealed to a sage by name Vasugupta who must have lived towards the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century A D. The date of Vasugupta is settled on the authority of Kalhana's *Rājataranginī* which says that Bhaṭṭa Kallata, a pupil of Vasugupta, was a contemporary of Avantivarman who was king of Kashmir in 855-883 A D. There are different traditions about the way in which the *Sūtras* were revealed to Vasugupta. According to one of them, Vasugupta had a vision of Śiva in a dream while residing in his hermitage below the Mahādeva peak, and he was directed by the Lord to a rock in the valley on which the *Sūtras* had been inscribed. When the sage went there and touched the rock, it turned and showed the inscription. According to a second version, the *Sūtras*, although composed by Śiva, were taught to Vasugupta by a Siddha. A third version is that Vasugupta received the instruction from Śiva himself in a dream. Whatever might have been the way in which the *Sūtras* were revealed to Vasugupta, it is definite that these *Sūtras* laid the foundation of Kashmir Śaivism. A succession of talented exponents of the system followed Vasugupta. Kallata who was Vasugupta's chosen pupil wrote, among other works,

1 There are other names also such as Śaṣṭardha-sastra

is *his*. "There is no tracing", says the 'awakened one', "the course of those monks who are men-of-worth, in whom the fluxions are destroyed, who have greatly lived, done what was to be done, shed their burden, won their own goal, completely destroyed the fetters of becoming, and are freed with profound knowledge"⁵³ The recluse can finally say: 'Lived is the Brahma-faring, done is what was to be done'⁵⁴ (*katakarāṇīyo*).

Spanda-Sarvasva in which he explained the meaning of the Śiva-sūtra as taught by his master Somānanda, the author of Śiva-dṛṣṭi and a vṛtti thereon, was probably another pupil of Vasugupta. Among other teachers of Kashmir Śaivism, we find the names of Utpala, Rāmakāṇṭha and Abhinavagupta. The last named was a prolific writer on a variety of subjects. The period of his literary activity extended over a quarter of a century, from about 991 to 1015 A D. His best known work on Kashmir Śaivism is the *Paramārthasāra* which is an adaptation of an earlier Advaita work of the same name by Ādi Śeṣa.

The ultimate Reality, in Kashmir Śaivism, as in every school of Śaiva philosophy, is Śambhu or Śiva, the supreme God. Śiva is the Ātman, the self of all beings, immutable and ever perfect. He is pure consciousness (caitanya), absolute experience (Para samvit), supreme lord (parameśvara). He is the ground of all existence, the substrate of all beings. He is beginningless and one, he resides in all that moves and all that moves not. Time and space do not limit him, for he transcends them, and they are but his appearances. He is both immanent (viśvāmaya) and transcendent (viśvottirṇa). The world does not exhaust him, for he is infinite. He is called *anuttara*, the reality beyond which there is nothing. In the familiar strain of the Upaniṣads, the teachers of Kashmir Śaivism tell us that the ultimate Reality is beyond the reach of thought and language. Yet both mind and speech attempt to understand and express the Real in its relation to the universe.

The pure consciousness, which is the supreme Reality and is referred to as Śiva, is the material as well as the efficient cause of the universe. This view is much the same as the one sponsored by Advaita-Vedānta as regards Saguna-Brahman. God or Reality is the stuff of which the world is made as well as the instrument which makes it. Fundamentally there is no difference between the cause and the effect. But while for Advaita the manifested world is non-real, for Kashmir Śaivism it is real.

By means of several illustrations the writers on the Pratyabhijñā system explain the creation of the universe from and by Śiva. The world is very often compared to the reflected city in a mirror. "As in the orb of a mirror pictures such as those of a town or village shine which are inseparable from it, and yet are distinct from one another and from it, so from the perfectly pure vision of the supreme Bhairava, this universe, though void of distinction appears distinct part from part and distinct from that vision"². And again, "As

2 Abhinavagupta's *Paramārthasāra* vv 12-13, see *JRAS*, 1910, p 723

syrup, molasses, jaggery, sugar-balls, candy, etc., are all alike juice of the sugar-cane, so the diverse conditions are all of Śambhu, the Supreme Self".³ The illustration of the rope appearing as the snake is also employed, though not with the same implication as in Advaita-Vedānta. Another familiar analogy used to explain creation is the appearance of ideas in the mind. The creation-theory of the Pratyabhijñā school is known as *ābhāsavāda*, i.e. the view which holds that the universe consists of appearances which are all real in the sense that they are aspects of the ultimate Reality.

The manifestation of the universe is effected through the Power (śakti) of Śiva. And Power is not different from the Possessor thereof. Śakti is Śiva's creative energy, and is spoken of as his feminine aspect. There are innumerable modes of Śakti. But the most important of them are five. They are: (1) *cit-śakti*, the power of intelligence or self-luminosity, which means that the Supreme shines by itself without dependence on any other light and even in the absence of all objects; (2) *ānanda-śakti*, the power of independence (svātantrya) which is bliss or joy, and by virtue of which the ultimate Reality is self-satisfied; (3) *icchā-śakti*, the power of will or desire, the wonderful power of the Lord to create; (4) *jñāna-śakti*, the power of knowledge by virtue of which the objects are brought together and held together in consciousness; and (5) *kriyā-śakti*, the power of action which is responsible for the actual manifestation of objects and their relations. By these powers the supreme Śiva in his aspect as Śakti manifests himself as the universe. He manifests himself by his own free will (svecchayā) and in himself as the substrate (svabhittau). That is, there is nothing other than Śiva. If the universe appears as if different, such appearance is a delusion. With the opening out of Śakti, the universe appears; and when Śakti closes herself up, the universe disappears. Sṛṣṭi (creation) and pralaya (dissolution) alternate; and this process is without a beginning.

As in the other schools of Saivism, thirty-six categories or tattvas are recognised in Kashmir Śaivism.

(1) The tattva which is counted as the thirty-sixth but which is first in the logical order is Śiva, the ultimate Reality, as it holds the potentiality of creation. It is of this reality, as we said, that the universe is an appearance. The Śiva-tattva is the first stage in the process of world-manifestation. Of the five aspects of Śakti, *cit* or intelligence predominates over the others at this stage. (2) The next category or tattva is *śakti*. It is not proper to call it the second stage, for it is by virtue of its operation that the manifestation of the Śiva-tattva is made possible. When Śakti is counted separately,

3. Ibid, p. 728.

what is meant in reality is the manifestation of its ānanda aspect—the aspect of bliss and self-satisfaction which is the precursor of the manifestation of a variety of forms (3) The third category is called *Sadāśiva* or the *Sādākhyā-tattva*, the principle “from which or in which the experience of Being begins” At this stage, *icchā-śakti* or the power of desire or will is the dominant feature And it is so because desire has to precede actual movement or activity (4) *Īśvara-tattva* is the fourth category in which the power of knowledge (*jñāna-śakti*) is predominant If at the stage of the *Sādākhyā-tattva* the experience of the divine Experiencer may be stated in the form ‘I am this’ with the emphasis on I, the experience at the stage of the *Īśvara-tattva* may be expressed in the form ‘This am I’ with the stress on *this* That is, the objective universe gains prominence here, and thereby the lordliness of the divine Being is realised (5) In the *Sad-vidyā-tattva* which is the next stage, the two sides of the experience, the subjective and the objective, the ‘I’ and the ‘this’ get equalised The experience is of the form ‘I am this’ Here neither is thrown into the background, the two have equal importance In such an experience there is activity and movement of thought The power of action, *kriyā-śakti*, functions as the dominating influence

The five categories from *Śiva-tattva* to *Sad-vidyā-tattva* constitute what is called the pure (*śuddha*) creation They are pure because they are manifested by Śiva himself without dependence on any prompting cause like karma, or material cause like *māyā* And also, the manifestation so far sketched is an ideal one, without any fragmentation or limitation of the One into the many Hence it is called the ‘perfect and pure way or order’ (*suddhādhvan*) The five *tattvas* are the manifestation of the universal Self, and not of any individual soul So, they have for their content the whole of experience, the ‘All-this’ It is only after the stage of *Śuddha-vidyā-tattva* that finitisation or fragmentation begins to take place The experiencers of these five *tattvas* are said to be super-normal beings, and they are classified into five groups in accordance with the *tattva* that is predominant in each The names of these groups are *Śāṃbhava*, *Śaktija*, *Mantra-maheśvara*, *Mantrēśvara*, and *Mantra*

The remaining *tattvas* form the impure (*aśuddha*) order of creation Their manifestation constitutes the sphere of the experience of limited beings which does not cover the universal ‘All-this’, but relates only to particular aspects thereof The course of manifestation after the *Śuddha-vidyā-tattva* is called the imperfect or impure way (*aśuddhādhvan*) It is also known as the *Māyādhvan* or *Māyā*’s way, from the fact that *Māyā* is the first member of this order

(6) *Māyā* is the power of obscuration. Its purpose is to limit the Experience as regards both the Experiencer and what is experienced. The Universal Self becomes obscured as it were, and, as a result of this, a plurality of souls and things becomes possible. The stage of *Māyā* is comparable to the state of lapsing into sleep. The universal Self whose powers were unrestricted upto the stage of the Śuddha-vidyā-tattva falls into sleep as it were; and fetters are forged to bind it apparently and finitise it. The limitless powers and features of the universal Self which are manifest in the course of the pure creation are, eternality (*nityatva*), all-pervasiveness (*vyāpakatva*), completeness (*pūrṇatva*), omniscience (*sarvajñatva*) and omnipotence (*sarvakartṛtva*). These get limited by the power of *Māyā*; and we now have in their place: (7) *Kāla* or time (limited duration), (8) *Niyati* or restriction in regard to space, (9) *Rāga* or attachment to particular things, (10) *Vidyā* or limited knowledge and (11) *Kalā* or limited agency. These five categories, *Kāla*, *Niyati*, *Rāga*, *Vidyā* and *Kalā*, are called the five sheaths (*pañca-kañcuka*) which envelop the soul and thus make for its finitude.

(12) The soul which is thus enveloped in the *kañcukas* is the *Puruṣa*. The universal Self appears under limitation as the many individual souls. Not only is the nature of the Real veiled, but also an apparent plurality of souls is projected by *Māyā*. The one All-Experiencer becomes differentiated, as it were, into the innumerable finite centres of experience. It is these centres which are the *Puruṣas* that are born and die, are bound and released. Each of these *Puruṣas* is called an *Aṇu*, because when the non-spatial Self is limited, the limited form has to be conceived as atomic in nature, i.e. as a non-spatial point.

(13) Corresponding to the limitation of the subjective side of the universal Experience, there is also a limitation of the objective side. *Māyā* apparently finitises the supreme Self as a result of which we have a plurality of *Puruṣas*. And it also provides each of the *puruṣas* with a conditioned object of experience which is *Prakṛti*. Because the stage in the evolutionary process which we are considering at present is comparable to sleep, the object is only a vague and indefinite 'something' (*vedya-sāmānyātmakam*). It has the potentiality of developing into a variety of experiencibles—pleasurable, painful and delusive objects. But at this stage the three *guṇas*, *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas* which are responsible for the variety of objective manifestations remain in a state of equilibrium. It is these *guṇas* that constitute *Prakṛti*; they are like the three strands of a cord, binding the *Puruṣa*. Since there is a plurality of *Puruṣas*, there is an equal number of *Prakṛtis* (*tac ca prati-pum-niyatatvāt anekam*).

The next three categories are (14) *Buddhi* or intellect, (15) *Ahankāra* or individuation, and (16) *Manas* or mind. (14) The *Buddhi-tattva* comes into manifestation from *Prakṛti*, as the Experiencer wakes up, as it were, after a sleep. In the state of *Prakṛti* there is an equalisation of the *guṇas*, as we saw, but this does not last for ever. The Lord of the *tattvas*, viz the Experiencer, creates a disturbance (*ksobha*) in *Prakṛti*, so that he may enjoy the finite objects. And *Buddhi* is what emerges at first out of this disturbance. It is to be compared to the first stage in the waking consciousness after a sleep. There is here a mere awareness without specification. Though all the three constituents of *Prakṛti* are present in *Buddhi*, the predominant *guṇa* in it is *sattva*. (15) From *Buddhi* arises *Ahankāra* which is individuation or egoity. It represents the feeling of oneself as 'I am so and so'—the feeling as a particular person. The self identifies itself with *Buddhi*, and consequently attributes to itself the function of the *Buddhi*. This is *Ahankāra*. The *guṇa* that prominently characterises it is *rajas*. (16) From *Ahankāra* *Manas* is produced. The function of *Manas* or mind is to act as the medium between *Ahankāra* and the sense-manifold. It actively collects the sense-data and presents them to the higher functionary. Though *Manas* is a state of activity, it is blind by itself and is the seat of desires. And so, the *guṇa* that is dominant in it is *tamas*.

Besides *Manas*, *Ahankāra* produces the five organs of sense (*jñānendriyas*), the five organs of action (*karmendriyas*), and the five essences called *tanmātras* from which evolve the gross elements. The five organs of sense are (17) the sense of hearing, (18) the sense of touch, (19) the sense of sight, (20) the sense of taste, and (21) the sense of smell. These five are the channels of perception, and are the products of that variety of *Ahankāra* in which *sattva* is predominant—the variety which is called *Tajasa*. The five organs of action are (22) the organ of speech, (23) the organ of grasping, (24) the organ of locomotion, (25) the organ of excretion, and (26) the organ of reproduction. These organs, as their collective name denotes, are the instruments of action, and they are the products of the *Vaikṛta-Ahankāra*, viz the *Ahankāra* in which *rajas* is the dominant *guṇa*. The five *Tanmātras* are evolved out of the variety of *Ahankāra* in which *tamas* predominates, and which is called *Bhūtādi*. The *Tanmātras* are (27) sound, (28) touch, (29) colour, (30) taste, and (31) odour. These should not be confused with the particular sounds, etc. which we experience. They are the subtle essences from which are evolved the gross elements.

The gross elements are the remaining categories. They are five in number, and are the products respectively of sound, touch, colour,

taste, and odour. The five gross elements (Bhūtas) are: (32) ether, (33) air, (34) fire, (35) water, and (36) earth. These are the ingredients of what we call the physical world. They constitute the abodes of enjoyment and the objects of experience for the individual souls.

The individual soul, though identical with the supreme Śiva, suffers the ills of saṃsāra, because it has forgotten its essential nature. It is covered with three impurities called *malas*, and encased in the sheaths or *kañcukas*. The three impurities are: *āṇavamala*, *kārmamala* and *māyīyamala*. *Āṇavamala* is the innate impurity of ignorance, and is the root cause of bondage. It is beginningless, though it can be destroyed. And final release consists in the destruction of *āṇava*. *Kārmamala* is the result of *āṇava*. It is responsible for the association of the individual soul with the effects of *Māyā*. *Māyīyamala* which is caused by *kārmamala* is the impurity of transmigratory existence. Endowed with these three *malas*, the soul migrates from one state of existence to another, putting on the cloaks created by *Māyā*.

The supreme aim of the Pratyabhijñā system is to enable the individual soul to find its salvation. The salvation consists in the soul's recognition of its identity with the ultimate Reality. As bondage is the result of ignorance, release is to be attained through knowledge. The knowledge which liberates, however, is not mere intellectual awareness; it is spiritual intuition of the fundamental unity. The intuition is gained by *dīkṣā*, which is the name for the act whereby spiritual knowledge is imparted and the bondage of innate ignorance is removed. The intellectual knowledge of the Pratyabhijñā system is also necessary, because without it *dīkṣā* will not be efficacious.

The way to liberation (*mokṣa*) is exactly the reverse of the way of manifestation (*ābhāsa*). The individual soul which is subject to birth and death, being endowed with the three *malas* is called *sakala*. At the time of dissolution or *pralaya*, the soul is not associated with the effects of *Māyā*, viz. body, etc., and so it is free from the *Māyīyamala*, and is called *pralayākala*. When, by the adoption of the Śaivapath, the soul has made some advance on the road of liberation, the *kārma-mala* too gets dissolved; and the soul in that stage is called *Vijñānākala*. It is, in fact, a transitional stage from the impure to pure creation. *Āṇava* alone lingers; and it too is destroyed by stages. Four such stages are recognised by the Śaivas, before the final annihilation of *āṇava* is accomplished. The soul passes through the five *tattvas* of the pure creation in the reverse order, before it gains the knowledge of its identity with Parama Śiva. The names

of the soul in these stages, as we have given already, are Mantra, Mantreśa, Mantra-maheśa, Śaktija, and Śāmbhava

There are four ways, or rather steps, to liberation ānava, sākta, Śāmbhava, and anupāya Each preceding stage leads to the next in order The ānavopāya is otherwise known as kriyopāya It is the path in which external aids like repetition of *mantras* are used as means to self-realisation At the next stage which is called sākto pāya or jñānopāya, the aspirant makes repeated attempts to rise from a dualistic outlook to the knowledge of unity At the third stage which is known as the Śāmbhava-mārga or icchopāya the knowledge of the Ultimate Reality arises through mere exercise of the will power The anupāya-mārga or ānandopāya is the last stage in the journey Here there is no need even for *bhāvanā* The ultimate Reality is realised through *pratyabhijñā* or recognition, and the soul is completely liberated

This is how the process of recognition is illustrated and explained "A certain damsel, hearing of the many good qualities of a particular gallant, fell in love with him before she had seen him, and agitated by her passion and unable to suffer the pain of not seeing him, wrote to him a love-letter descriptive of her condition He at once came to her, but when she saw him she did not recognise in him the qualities she had heard about, he appeared much the same as any other man, and she found no gratification in his society So soon, however, as she recognised those qualities in him as her companions now pointed them out, she was fully gratified In like manner, though the personal self be manifested as identical with the universal soul, its manifestation effects no complete satisfaction so long as there is no recognition of those attributes, but as soon as it is taught by a spiritual director to recognise in itself the perfections of Maheśvara, his omniscience, omnipotence, and other attributes, it attains the whole pleroma of being"⁴

Mere human effort will not be of much avail in the path of Mokṣa What really moves here is the Divine Will Besides the three powers of creation, sustentation, and destruction of the universe, God has the powers of concealment and grace His real nature is concealed from the soul, and after the soul has played out its part in saṃsāra, God's grace descends on the individual, and the individual is released The descent of Divine Grace is called Śakti-nipāta

Mokṣa, according to the Pratyabhijñā system, is a return to the original state of perfection and purity of consciousness Abhinavagupta describes it thus "When thus the imagination of quality has vanished, and he (the released soul) has surmounted the illusion

⁴ See *The Sarta-darsana-samgraha* of Madhavacarya translated by E B Cowell and A E Gough p 136

Māyā, he is merged in Brahman, as water in water, as milk in milk. When thus through contemplation the group of elements has been resolved into the substances of Śiva, what grief, what delusion can befall him who surveys the universe as Brahman?"⁵

Of all the schools of Śaivism, the Pratyabhijñā system comes closest to Advaita-Vedānta. As in Advaita, so in Kashmir Śaivism the ultimate reality is non-dual and of the nature of pure consciousness. The three Śaiva categories, pati, paśu and pāśa, are reduced to the one absolute reality which is Para-Śiva, and apart from which there is nothing real. The so-called jīva is non-different from the supreme reality; and its final goal is the recognition of this truth. Mokṣa is the soul's return to its original purity through realising its identity with the Absolute. The universe too is not different from Śiva. It is an appearance (ābhāsa) comparable to the reflected city in a mirror or the illusory snake in the rope. Śiva is both the material and the instrumental cause of the world. Māyā is the principle of illusion which obscures the real and projects the non-real. Since the appearance of the pluralistic universe including *jīvatva* is due to ignorance, it is to be removed through jñāna or knowledge.

So far, it will be easily seen, there is nothing to distinguish the Pratyabhijñā system from Advaita-Vedānta. But when it introduces certain additions or modifications, obviously to justify its character as a school of Śaivism, it becomes inconsistent with itself. (1) The manifested world of things is, according to Kashmir Śaivism, real. But how could this be? How could the Pure Consciousness be the material cause of the non-intelligent world? If it is said to be the material cause, it must be only in the sense that it is the substrate of an illusory appearance. The analogies used by the Pratyabhijñā writers themselves go to show that the so-called creation is *vivarta* and not *pariṇāma*. (2) In a realistic system the scheme of thirty-six categories to which Kashmir Śaivism adheres may have some meaning, but not in a system of Monistic Idealism which this school of Śaivism claims to be. Since Māyā serves, even according to the Pratyabhijñā, the double purpose of obscuring the non-dual reality and projecting the pluralistic universe, it is unnecessary and cumbersome to distinguish stages of creation anterior to Māyā. Beginning with Māyā, the scheme is more or less the same as that of the Sāṅkhya system. The Advaitin has no objection to the general outline of the Sāṅkhya scheme *minus its pariṇāma-vāda*. In so far as Kashmir Śaivism stops short of full-fledged Advaita, it fails to be philosophically satisfactory. And this failure is due to the legacy which it has received from the realistic schools—a legacy which is in the nature of a *haereditas damnosa*.

5. *The Paramārthasāra*, vv. 51-52; JRAS, 1910, p. 734.

There are some traces of Buddhism in Bengal even in inscriptions later than the age of the Pālas and there is a Buddhist population in the Chittagong area on the south-eastern fringe of Bengal even today. But Buddhism does not appear to have played any important part in the religious life of Bengal after the decline of the Buddhist royal family of the Pālas in the twelfth century A.D. The antipathy of the Sena rulers of Bengal, who succeeded the Pālas, may have supplied an additional force to the elements that led to the withering of Buddhism in the country.

SOMA AND RUDRA IN VEDIC MYTHOLOGY

By

H. G. NARAHARI, M.A., M.Litt.

Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras 20.

India can boast of twelve great *linga* temples¹ which have, for centuries, commanded an especial veneration from the devotees of Śiva. Perhaps the most famous of these is the shrine of Somanātha, situated in Prabhāsa Pāṭan on the southern coast of Saurashtra, whose wealth and splendour attracted the avaricious eyes of Sultan Mahmūd of Ghazni who on January 3, 1026, destroyed the idols of the temple and looted its rarest treasures.² The shrine is named after the moon-god Soma who, under a curse, is believed to have set up the *linga* and worshipped it with devotion. The story goes that, though the moon-god had married all the twenty-seven daughters of Dakṣa, he had a special fascination for Rohiṇī to the great chagrin of her sisters. Dakṣa advised his son-in-law to treat all the wives equally; but, advice proving of no avail, the son-in-law was cursed whereby he contracted phthisis. In vain the moon-god appears to have made manifold attempts to get over the effects of the curse. As he, defeated in his attempts, continue to wane, herbs became either tasteless or failed to grow altogether. The high gods had to intervene in the matter, and a compromise was arranged between the disputants. Soma had to promise equal devotion towards all his wives and regard for womankind in general and brahmins. He could get rid of the disease already on him if he bathed in the *Prabhāsatārtha*, the spot at which the Sarasvatī mingles with the ocean, and worshipped Lord Mahādeva there. The moon-god obeyed and regained his form and beauty.³

This is the story in the Epics. My attempt now is to discuss what sort of relationship existed already between the gods Soma and Śiva in the Vedic period. It may be noted at the very outset that Soma is one of the most important deities in the Ṛgveda. The name occurs hundreds of times and at least 120 whole hymns are devoted to the praise of this divinity. It is indeed true that the allusion in most of these occurrences is either to the concrete plant of

1. For a list see Monier Williams, *Indian Wisdom*, p. 322 n.

2. K. M. Munshi, *Somnath the Shrine Eternal*, Bombay, 1951, p. 26.

3. *Mahābhārata* (Nirnayasagara Press Edition), IX. 36.

that name or to the exhilarating essence extracted from it, but it has to be admitted⁴ that there are certain passages in this Veda which would give an absurd meaning if the word *Soma* occurring in them is taken in either of these senses. Chief among such are those⁵ which describe the wedding of *Soma* with *Sūryā*, the daughter of the Sun. Such a connection between *Soma* and *Sūrya* becomes understandable only if the god is the Moon who, as a luminary even like the Sun, can reasonably be regarded as his son-in-law. Elsewhere⁶ *Soma* is described as the drop (*drapsa*) which goes to the ocean, looking with the eye of a vulture, and even here the reference must be only to the Moon. One passage in the *Atharvaveda*, however, declares in clear terms the identity of *Soma* with the Moon. It runs "May the god *Soma* free me, he whom they call the Moon" (*Somo mū devo muñcatu yam āhus candramā iti*)⁷. Occasions are indeed numerous⁸ when the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* asserts this identity, and in two contexts⁹ we meet also with the Epic idea of *Soma* being closely connected with the brahmins. *Soma* is here called the king of the brahmins (*Somo 'asmān am brahmanā-nām rājā*)

Among the associates of the god *Soma* in the Veda are *Agni*, *Indra*, *Parjanya*, *Pūṣan*, *Rudra*, *Surya* and *Varuṇa*. Of these *Rudra* is the precursor of the Purāṇic *Śiva* and as such his relationship with *Soma* is the subject of our study in this paper. But the Vedic *Rudra* is often identified with *Agni*, and the identity appears to have so influenced the character of the god that he is equipped considerably to play the important role of *Śiva-Mahādeva* in later history. It is to this influence apparently that *Śiva* owes his complexion, his blue neck and his matted hair. It is not impossible that even the emblem of this popular god, the *linga*, really grew out of the sacrificial fire-pit¹⁰. As for *Soma*, he receives joint praise in the Veda with *Agni* and *Rudra* each in one whole hymn. Among the feats resulting from the combined efforts of the gods *Agni* and *Soma* is the fixing up of the luminaries in the sky. Says¹¹ the seer addressing the two gods

युवमेतानि दिवि रोचना-
न्वग्निरक्ष सोम सन्नतु अधत्तम् ।

4 For an elaborate discussion of the theme see H. G. Narahari *Ātrian in Pre-Upanisadic Vedic Literature* Adyar 1944 pp 80 ff.

5 RV X 85

6 RV X 123 8

7 AV XI 6 7

8 1 6 4 5 XI 1 3 2 4 and 5 etc. for the full list see Muir *Original Sanskrit Texts* London 1884 V 271

9 V 3 3 12 IX 4 3 16

10 N Venkataramanayya *Rudra-Śiva* (Dr S Subrahmanya Aiyar Lectures 1939-40 University of Madras Madras 1911), p 83

11 RV I 935 ab

Ample recompense (*br̥hat*)¹² awaits those who worship these two gods together. Their horses become strong and cows become fat. Themselves they become healthy and rich:¹³

अग्नीषोमा हविषः प्रस्थितस्य वीतं हर्यतं वृषणा जुपेयाम् ।

(Vide p. 3 of original)

सुशर्मणा स्ववसा हि भूतमथा धत्तं यजमानाय शं योः ॥

अग्नीषोमा पिपृतमर्वतो न

आप्यायन्तामुस्त्रिया हव्यसूदः ।

When Soma and Rudra go together, they are both armed with sharp weapons and shafts (*tigmāyudhau tigmahetī*),¹⁴ and are supplicated by devotees for blessings to man and beast, for healing medicines and for deliverance from sin:¹⁵

शं नो भूतं द्विपदे शं चतुष्पदे ।

सोमा रुद्रा युवमेतान्यस्मे विश्वातनूपु भेषजानि धत्तम् ।

अवस्यतं मुञ्चतं यन्नो अस्तितनूपु वद्धं कृतमेनो अस्मत् ॥

If, therefore, we read in the Epics that the *Prabhāsatīrtha*, where Soma bathes on every New-Moon day,¹⁶ has the power to make every devout pilgrim who bathes there radiant even like the full Moon (*prabhāsate yathā Somah*) or as lustrous as the glorious Sun (*vimalārkaśamadyutiḥ*),¹⁷ we are treated to no empty hyperbole. The verdict of the Epic has its firm roots in the beliefs of the oldest known period of our history.

12. RV. I. 93. 10 c.

13. RV. I. 93. 7 & 12.

14. RV. VI. 74. 4 a.

15. RV. VI. 74. 1 and 3.

16. *Mahābhārata*, IX. 36. 41.

17. *Ibid.*, III. 80. 64.

SOMANATH : THE PILLAR OF LIGHT UNIVERSE HIS SYMBOL

(By J. B. Durkāl M.A., D.O.C. Vidyā Vāridhi)

I

In unfathomed prenebular ages old
When there was neither light, nor heat nor cold
Nor earth nor suns nor water nor germs,
The Universe itself was evolving its terms.

Even prior still there was but one element
Without a second and mighty in its own portent;
It was unscaled, with life and light and joy
Yet it felt its unvaried life a tiresome toy.

"I am one" it said. No, not said, but willed,
"May I be many and multiply"; and drilled
Its unity into variety of space and time
And substance sans substance in a wondrous pantomine.

Three great gunas emerged from parent primordial
With their godheads potent yet incorporeal:
Brahmā was the deity of world-wide expansion
And Vishnu was the deity of conserving protection.

And they began to test who the greater was:
A trial of spiritual strength and laws;
They faught and faught in wondrous action
As in science they call action and reaction.

And when there was no clue as to who would win
Which force would prevail and conquer the din,
Lo, there appeared between them, god Shiva the good,
A great pillar of light, symbol of a new mood.

This pillar of light was the emblem supreme
The light of light—the Jyotir Līnga of our sacred theme.
The pillar of light, the deities volunteered to scale
To measure their strength by their own rod and rail.

The pervasive element went down to find the lower end
 And the expansive one upside its way did wend,
 But none could find the end of the pillar of light
 For, it was the light beyond light and might.

But lo; the expansive spirit did to temptation lend
 And said he had seen the pillar's end
 The retribution came and his head was gone
 And above his boast Vishnu's veracity shone.

It was that pillar of light which stands between
 The expansive and the conservative forces daily seen.
 We seek its knowledge but never reach its end
 Both urges are great and good, but have a noisy trend.

Let us worship the Pillar of Light, but beware of lie;
 For, the Lord of Light is there ever awake and nigh.

II

There is a wondrous tale how great Eternity
 As it lay refulgent with Rishies of divine entity,
 Maya the spell-spouse of Shiva had disappeared
 And with her also the world which she had reared.

The Rishis prayed that Shiva the God of bliss
 May revoke his pensive mood to give his spell a kiss,
 So that the Cosmic child resurge into being
 And Universe of joys and jobs spring ensuing.

Then God Shiva made a condition terse,
 That they shall worship his symbol, Universe.
 They agreed and then God Shiva donned like a beam
 The Universe, the sign and symbol of his *vita* Supreme.

For, what's a better symbol of the infinite but the finite
 And of God but the Universe, of might but the right,
 Of unseen but the seen, and of His luminous light
 But our own darling Twilight?

शाश्वतशरकोदण्डी शरणागतवत्सल ।
 श्यामलाङ्गशरधिमान् शरदिन्दुनिभानन ॥४॥
 पीनकण्ठो विशालाक्ष क्षुद्रहा क्षुरिकायुध ।
 धाराधरवपु श्रीमान् सत्यसन्ध प्रतापवान् ॥५॥
 काचमालाधर कामी कामरूप कलापवान् ।
 कैरातपतिराखेटप्रिय प्रीतिप्रद प्रभु ॥६॥
 रेणुकातनयस्वामीचित्तपद्मालयो बली ।
 व्याघरूपधरो व्याधिनाशन बालशासन ॥७॥
 वामदेवसमो देव कामितार्यफलप्रद ।
 सामवेदप्रियो वेदवेद्यो वेदविदा वर ॥८॥
 त्र्यक्षरात्मा त्रिलोकेशस्त्रिस्वरात्मा त्रिलोचन ।
 त्रिगुणात्मा त्रिकालज्ञस्त्रिमूर्त्यात्मा त्रिवर्गद ॥९॥
 पार्वतीनन्दन श्रीमान् पावन पापनाशन ।
 पारावारगभीरात्मा परमात्म परावर ॥१०॥
 गीतप्रियो गीतवीर्यो वातिकेयसहोदर ।
 वारुण्यसागरो हस्तस्त्रिद्विहस्त्रिहस्त्रिपद ॥११॥
 सुदलोवस्सुमहावीरस्सुन्दरस्सुरनन्दित ।
 सुरवैरिर्कुलध्वंसी स्यूल्क्ष्मश्रुरभिन्ना ॥१२॥
 अमृतस्सर्वंगस्सूक्ष्मस्स्यूल्क्ष्मस्तुरगवाहन ।
 अमलो विमलो दक्षो वसुमान् वनगो गुरु ॥१३॥
 सर्वप्रियस्सर्वसाक्षी सर्वयोगीश्वरेश्वर ॥

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THE ASTRONOMICAL BACKGROUND OF VEDIC RUDRA AND PURĀNIC ŚIVA

BY SHRI M. RAJA RAO

“Saurāṣṭra deśe vidaśe-stiramye, Jyotirmayam candrakalā-
vataṁsam, Bhaktipradānāya kṛpāvatīṇam, Tam SOMANĀTHAM
śaraṇam prapadye.”

“Viyadvyāpī tārāgaṇagūṇitaphenodgamaruciḥ
Pravāho vārām prṣatalaghudrṣṭaḥ śīrasi te,
Jagad-dvīpākārām jaladhivalayaṁ tena kṛitam—
Ityantenaivonneyaṁ dhṛtamahima divyaṁ tava vapuḥ.”

The title Somanātha brings up before our eyes the familiar picture of Lord Śiva with the crescent moon peeping down at us from among the coils of matted hair that form his crest. The moon's constant companion is the divine Gaṅgā. To keep the coils in place Śiva has bound round them a huge water-snake (hrada-sarpa), a Hydra. His abode is Mount Kailas. His weapon is the trident or triśūla. He is an Ardhanārīśvara; his consort Śrī Gaurī constitutes, as it were, the left half of his body. By his side stands the sacred bull, Nandī. Near by are sporting his two sons, Lord Kārttikeya and Lord Gaṇeśa. What a transition from the Vedic Rudra, the dreaded God of Storms, accompanied by his lightning-bejewelled bands of Maruts, his wild and matted locks flapping about in the whirlwind and hurting all those that came within their reach, to the Bholā-Śaṅkara, seated in deep meditation with all his eyes closed, and granting, without any discrimination, what ever boons his devotees asked of Him! The scenes of desolation and waste that the angry Rudra left behind Him were replaced in later times by the cremation ground that became the favourite haunt of Lord Śiva. Verily He continues to be the God of Destruction! Both Rudra and Śiva represent the wilder aspect of Cosmos—Nature in her angriest mood. Whatever has been created must suffer destruction. It is only the Uncreated Eternal He or She that can survive. All else was nought at the birth of the worlds; and will be nought again at the End.

Lord Somanātha is a composite God and combines in himself the salient features of Vedic Rudra and Vedic Soma. The Vedic Ṛṣis were *Kapardins*, Lord Rudra was also a *Kapardin*. Rudra was

later identified with the Starry Heavens and became a Vyoma-keśin. It was but natural that the moon should get entangled in the braids of Rudra. Rudra became Somaśekhara or Somanātha. Rudra became associated with Kāla or Father Time. He was endowed with three eyes, that looked into the past, the present and the future. The Sun formed the right-eye, and the moon the left eye, midway between them at the centre of the forehead shone the third eye with the brilliance of Agni. The sun stands for the day, the moon for the night, Agni for the two twilights—the two Sandhyās set apart for the morning and evening Agnihotra.

The Vedic seers were fond of metaphors. They employed the fundamental relationship of father, mother, and child to describe the connection between cause and effect, between an action and its result. If the cause was a single force, it became the father or the mother to the result—their baby. The interaction between two forces ending in a concrete result was spoken of as the union of the father and mother. The elemental forces and primary emotions were personified into Gods and Goddesses. As they dealt with personifications, both the seers and their disciples felt no delicacy or saw no sin in attributing a freedom of intercourse between the personified objects that would be called incest if the participators had been real human beings. Rudra and Ambikā were brother and sister; Prajāpati and Rohiṇī were father and daughter. Yet they married. Marriages between brother and sister were quite common among the Egyptians and the Persians. Curiously enough Rudra, under the special appellations of Bhūtavān and Paśupati, was selected by the Gods to punish Prajāpati for his incestuous marriage with Rohiṇī. It is poetic imagination run riot, relieved by a touch of playful humour. The scene of this celestial drama was the starry heavens.

The exuberant fancies of the Vedic poets have been preserved in the astronomical myths and legends connected with the constellations extending, mainly along the zodiac, from the Kṛttikās to Maghā. The two exploits of Rudra, namely, the punishment of Prajāpati and the burning away of the Tripura cities, are located in this region of the sky. The Kirātārjuniya episode of the *Mahābhārata* is also capable of a similar celestial representation. Before we attempt to interpret ancient legends as astronomical myths, we have to divest ourselves of certain prejudices and assumptions regarding the extent of the astronomical knowledge and achievements of our ancestors. Whether the identifications of the constellations with the personages of the legends were original conceptions of the Indo-Aryans, or had been suggested to them when

they came into contact with the Greeks, or they were the common heritage of both the branches of the Aryan nations, is a minor point. What is more important is the manner in which the ancient seers wove their knowledge of the stars into beautiful fancies and legends which the sculptors of later times reduced to actual images of stone and metal, or which the artists illustrated as gorgeous pictures painted on the walls of rock-cut caves and temples.

The knowledge of the stars was orally handed down from father to son or from teacher to disciple; but no authentic star-maps were prepared. So the association of particular stars and groups with legendary personages and events is purely conjectural and problematic. At the time of the composition of the *Siddhāntas*, there was an attempt at classification; but as Greek ideas had been prevalent for some centuries, it is not possible to determine how far these classifications were based on original ancient traditions and how far they had been modified by the influx of Greek myths. So I shall content myself with merely pointing out how the Purāṇic concept of Śiva and his appurtenances coincide with the distribution of the several zodiacal constellations and those near them. The legends that are found in the Vedic *Samhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas* date back to times far anterior to the Greek contact. Coincidences, where they occur, illustrate a common heritage.

The identification of Soma with the moon dates back to Ṛg-Vedic times. The *Taittirīya Samhitā* establishes an intimate association of Soma and Rudra. The Suṣumna rays of the sun fall on the moon and store up on it Soma, the immortal food of the gods, during the bright fortnight. But during the dark fortnight the gods successively drink up this Soma; the moon continues to wane, until on the day of new-moon only one-sixteenth of the original store is left. This quantity of Soma is called a kalā. It is sent down to the earth for being stored up in the Soma plant and other medicinal herbs, found on the earth. From the first day of the bright fortnight, the moon again begins to acquire one kalā of Soma per day from the rays of the sun; until on the full-moon day the stock is again sixteen kalās. This cycle of changes repeats itself once a month. The moon serves as a reservoir of Soma periodically emptied and replenished. This process is alluded to in the Ṛg-Vedic hymn on Sūryā's Wedding with Soma. The first five verses inform us that Soma is stationed in the heavens among the nakṣatras and contributes largely to the well-being of the Ādityas and the Earth. The Soma juice which the priests extract is not the real Soma whose praises they sing. No terrestrial being can taste the immortal food of the gods. As often as the gods drink the divine Soma the lake in

the moon gets filled up again. Vāyu is the guardian of Soma; the moon regulates the months and years. The marriage of Sūryā (the Suṣumna rays), the daughter of Savitṛ (sun) with Soma (the moon) is merely a symbolic representation of the illumination of the moon's disc by the sun's rays. The Vedic Soma is nothing but the candra-kalā of the Purāṇas and the Śubhra-jyotsnā of our National Anthem.

According to the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* and the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, Soma, the Moon, is the deity presiding over the Mṛgaśira nakṣatra. The *Maitrāyaṇīya Saṁhitā* allots the overlordship of Mṛgaśira to the Maruts and transfers Soma to a twenty-eighth nakṣatra, Brāhmaṇa, between Bharaṇī and Kṛttikās. The Maruts are called the children of Rudra. The discrepancy merely establishes the equivalence of Rudra and Soma, and their con-dominium status. The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* catalogues the nakṣatras and their attributes once in the first Aṣṭaka and again, in a more detailed manner, in the third Aṣṭaka. The two accounts differ both in contents and treatment. The first Aṣṭaka assigns three stars or groups of stars to each nakṣatra. The central star is the primary, with a secondary on either side. Each nakṣatra is associated with an object, person or idea indicated by the central star. The secondaries indicate its attributes or accompaniments. Whether the three stars that form a set are situated in a North-South line or West to East line in the order of increasing longitude is not clearly stated. The eastern secondary of the one is earlier in right ascension than the western companion of the next nakṣatra. Prajāpati, the lord of Rohiṇī, has for his associates medicinal herbs to the west and āpaḥ (water or juice) to the east. In his poem Ulysses, Tennyson calls the group, the rainy Hyades. Mṛgaśira is called Invakā. To the west are fibre-yielding plants; to the east is the finished cloth. "Saumyam vai vāsaḥ." Soma is the weaver or the wearer. "Rudrasya Bāhū; Mṛgayavaḥ parastāt, vikṣāro avastāt." At the centre of the Ārdrā group are the two arms of Rudra holding the bow and the arrow. To the east is seen his head in Sirius, adjusting his aim; to the west lies the target—Prajāpati's head or the three Asura cities. The imagery changes again with Punarvasū. Aditi is the central group, consisting probably of two stars in the north and two to the south of the ecliptic at equal distances; to the east are the rain-bearing monsoon winds; to the west are the flood-waters flowing to the west. This is an accurate description of the Punjāb water-shed with the Śatadru and the other tributaries of the Sindhu flowing west. Tiṣya is the next nakṣatra with Bṛhaspati as overlord. It represents a Soma sacrifice. To the west sits the sacrificer; the priest comes next with the sacrificial prayers; to the east are the

offerings made. The description continues in the same vein with constant change of topics "*Bṛhaspates-tiṣyaḥ*" says the *Tait. Brāhmaṇa*; "*Rudro vai Tiṣyaḥ, Somaḥ Pūrṇamasas-sākṣādeva brahmavarcasam avarudhe*" says the *Samhitā*. The *Samhitā* associates Rudra also with Tiṣya in addition to Bṛhaspati. The *Ṛg-veda* alludes to Tiṣya as the most brilliant star in the sky and says that it never vanishes from the sky (*R.V.* 5-54-13). In *Ṛg-veda*, X-64-8, Tiṣya is associated with the archer Kṛśānu and Rudra. Kṛśānu is the Gandharva archer guarding Soma; he wounds the foot of Gāyatri when she brings away the Soma. There is obviously a confusion of metaphors. The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* emphasises the intimate connection between the three nakṣatras—Ārdṛā, Punarvasū and Tiṣya. (I-10-2). "*Sahasravṛd iyam bhūmiḥ, param vyoma sahasravṛt; Āsvinā, Bhujjyū, Nāsatyā; Viśvasya jagataspatī. Jāyā bhūmiḥ, patirvyoma; mithunam tā aturyathuḥ; putro Bṛhaspatī Rudraḥ, Saramā iti strīpumam.*" The association of Rudra with Ārdṛā and Bṛhaspatī with Tiṣya follows naturally; but the identity of Saramā is conjectural. Being a daughter, she must naturally find her abode with her mother in Punarvasū. Saramā is also variously identified with Indra as "*Sālāvṛkī (female) T.S. Vi-2-4*" (and *Tait. Āraṇyaka* I-6), and the she-dog in *Canis Minor*, *Procyon*.

The third Aṣṭaka of the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* describes the association of the nakṣatras and their overlords in greater detail. *Ārdayā Rudraḥ prathamāna eti; Śreṣṭho devānām, patiraghnīyā nām; nakṣatram haviṣā vidhema. Mā naḥ prajāṃ rīriṣat; mā uta vīrān; hetī Rudrasya pariṇo vṛṇaktu; Ārdṛā nakṣatram juṣatām havir naḥ; pramuncamānau duritāni viśvā; apa aghasamsam nuda-tām arātim.*" May Rudra in Ārdṛā protect us, our children and our warriors! May His dreadful weapon be turned away from us! May He drive away our sins and the sufferings they bring on us! May He completely destroy all our enemies!" A similar request is made to Bṛhaspati in Tiṣya; His aid is sought to overcome all enemies from whatever direction they might come. An interesting statement is made that Bṛhaspati was first discovered opposite Tiṣya. Modern scholars interpret this verse as indicating that the discovery of Jupiter as a planet was made when it first occulted the yoga-tārā of Tiṣya, about 4600 B.C. (Ketkar). Aditi is as usual associated with Punarvasū (dual). "*Adityai svāhā Punarvasūbhyām.*" Rudra is clearly described as Gavāmpati; "*Raudrī vai Gauḥ.*" (*T. Br.* 2-2-5).

There are at least two legends, one relating to Vedic Rudra (Nakṣatrīya Rudra), and another relating to Purāṇic Śiva (Nakṣatrīya Śiva), that have a clear astronomical background. The story of

Prajāpati's incestuous passion for his own daughter is found in the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, (III-33), the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (I-7-4) the *Rg-veda* (X-61-7) and Tilak's *Orion* (ch V p 98) among others. In his commentary on *Śatapatha Br* II-2-1-2, Sāyana remarks '*īṣunā tasya siras-cicheda īṣuḥ sirasceti ubhayaṃ antarikṣam utplutya naḥ-śtrāṇmanā avasthūtam dṛsyate*' In the Śiva mahimna-stava of Puṣpadanta which is believed to have been the composition of Śrī Śaṅkara, this incident is ascribed to Śiva in the following beautiful verse

Prajānātham nūthaprasabhamabhūkam svām duhitaram
 Gatam Rohiḍbhūtām rīramayiṣum ṛsyasya vapuṣā
 Dhanuṣpāner yātam divamapī sapatrakṛtāmamum
 Trasantam te syādapi tyajati na mṛgavyādha rabhasah'

In the last chapter of the *Saṃpātika* parva of the *Mahābhārata*, we are told that in a sacrifice held by the Devas Rudra's portion was omitted. Rudra grew furious and pierced the Yajña with an arrow in the region of the heart. Yajña assumed the form of a flaming deer, flew up to the sky and has been stuck up there to this day. According to the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, the daughter of Prajāpati fled from him in the form of a red hind. He pursued her in the shape of a red hart and caught her up, and had intercourse with her. Thereupon the gods formed a terrible being by each contributing a portion of his indignation and asked him to punish Prajāpati. They called him Bhūtavan, but he desired to be known as Pasupati. They agreed. He discharged an arrow and transfixed the head of Prajāpati. It was transferred to the sky, where it can be seen to this day as the Deer's Head in the Mṛgasīra naksatra Orion. To the south of Orion and west of Sirius or Mṛgavyādha is a small constellation called the Hare. Since Soma the Moon is the overlord of Mṛgasīra, it is but natural to assume that the deer's head in Orion and the Hare should represent the dark spots in the Moon, who thereby acquires the titles Mṛgāṅka and Śasadhara. The identification of Soma with the Moon in Mṛgasīra and Rudra with Sirius enables us to form an astral picture of Lord Somanātha. Sirius marks the crown of his head. To the west is the Moon, to the East, the waters of the celestial Ganga or the Milky Way. The three stars in the belt of Orion constitute the three eyes of Rudra-Tryambaka. The nebula in Orion supplies the smoke issuing out of his central eye wherein resides Agni. Vedic Rudra was Agni himself. "*Rudro vai eṣa yad Agniḥ*." This vital characteristic of Vedic Rudra survived in the Purānic Śiva as the Agni in the central eye. The sparkling blue of Rigel and the scintillating red and blue of Sirius supply the illusion of the Nīla-rohita

colouration of Śiva's neck. We have the constellation Hydra close by to constitute Śiva's ornament (*karṇapūram*). "Gaṅgātaraṅga ramaṇīya jaṭākalāpam; Gaurīnirantara vibhūṣita vāmabhāgam; Śītāmsu śobhita kirīṭa virājamānam; bhālekṣaṇānalaviśoṣita pañcābānam; nāgādhipāracita bhāsura karṇapūram; Vārāṇasipurapatim bhaja Viśvanātham." In such immortal lines does Śaṅkara describe the Lord of the Universe, the patron deity of Banaras!—the nakṣātrīya Somanātha! The Brāhmaṇas supply the additional information that in this story Prajāpati was the symbol of year-long sacrifice and his daughter was either the sky or the dawn (Uṣas). The term Yugādi is commonly applied to the new-year day; as pointed out by Dr. Shamasastri, Uṣas or Vyūṣṭi might have been in use to indicate the Vedic New-Year Day. Lokamanya B.G. Tilak put forward the suggestion that the Prajāpati story was merely a metaphorical device adopted by the Vedic priests to record their observation that the equinoxial New-year Day commencing the season of Vasanta had changed its position in the year from the fortnight in which the sun was in Mṛgaśira to the fortnight in which it was in the Rohiṇī division. In his notes to the Bhīṣma-parva, Dr. Belvalkar has pointed out that the Uttarāyaṇa that was awaited by Bhīṣma was the sun's crossing the equator from the south to the north,—not the winter solstice as is commonly supposed. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* endorses this view. (*Śata. Br.* II-1-3-1 to 3.). Varāhamihira, in his *Bṛhat-Samhitā*, defines an Utpāta as any event that transcends common experience; anything that occurs out of season or appears contrary to Nature. "*Ṛtu-svabhāvaḥ hyete dr̥ṣṭāḥ svartau śubhapradah; Ṛtoranyatra ṣoṭpātaḥ dr̥ṣṭaḥ te nātidāruṇāḥ.*" (Ch. 46-95)" "*Prakṛter anyatvam utpātaḥ*" (Ch. 50). Garga regards the precession of the winter solstice from the first point of Dhanīṣṭhā an Utpāta of the first magnitude. "*Samvatsaraḥ Prajapatiḥ; Prajāpatir yajñah*" (*Ait. Br.* ii-17). Another Vedic poet describes the every-day Sun as running after Uṣas as young men run after a young maiden in the first flush of youth "*Sūryo devīm uṣasam rocamānām malyo na yoṣām abhyeti paścāt.*" (*R.V.* 115-2; Kutsa Āṅgīrasa). The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* story employs the same simile with regard to the Equinoxial Sun, and the New Year Dawn.

Let us now turn our attention from Vedic Rudra to the Purāṇic Somanātha. The most popular legend connected with Lord Śiva is the burning away of Tripura. The elaborate account of the event given in the *Matsya Purāṇa* is a combination of three separate incidents: viz. *Tārakāmaya*—the war between Kārttikeya and Tārakāsura; *Tripura-dahana*, the destruction of the three magic cities of Mayāsura by Śiva with a single arrow; *Andhakāsura-saṁhāra*—a popular festival celebrated on the full-moon of Mārgaśira or Pauṣa

in all Śaivite temples in South India, symbolising the defeat of Andhakāśura. Śiva as Naṭarāja dances in ecstasy over this dead body. The names of the three Asuras are highly suggestive of their astronomical origin or significance. Tārakā means a star; Mayāśura is an Asura well-versed in magic; Andhakāśura is the Demon of Darkness, both actual and figurative. Andhaka is one of the several names assigned to the nakṣatra, Mṛgaśira. How it got that name we do not know. If conjectures are permitted, we can derive it from Andhas—the food of the gods or Soma. Soma, as we know, is the overlord of Mṛgaśira. If Andhaka is interpreted as Andha-tāmisra or pitch-darkness, Soma or the moon becomes the destroyer of the demon of darkness. The only cause of darkness on a full-moon night is a lunar eclipse. Andhakāśura may stand for the Demon causing the Eclipse. Whomsoever he might represent Andhaka was regarded as a foe of Rudra and must stand for a star or star-group in a line with Sirius and the three stars of Orion constituting the *trikāṇḍa-bāṇa* or three barbed arrow of Rudra. The Andhakāśura-saṁhāra festival might have originated on the occasion of a total lunar eclipse of very long duration on the full-moon of Mārgaśira month. The picture of Andhakāśura is painted on an upright screen and is shot at by an arrow of moving lights. The screen is let down rapidly with coloured water dripping down its sides. Then the image-bearers stamp wildly on a figure of the Asura chalked out on the ground, uttering wild shouts of joy and victory. Goddess Pārvatī arrives on the scene and calms down the fury of her consort. Before day-break on the same night, at early dawn, the devout worshippers take an early bath and visit the temple to catch a glimpse of Lord Naṭarāja, in His benevolent mood. The dread Rudra of the previous night has become *Arudra*, the moon has slipped into the Ārdrā nakṣatra and His *darśana* is most auspicious. The bath is rendered doubly essential by the occurrence of a lunar eclipse.

According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the drama of Tripura-dahana was enacted on the full-moon in Tīṣya in the month of Pauṣa. Great emphasis has been laid on the Puṣya-yoga. (Chs. 135 to 140). We are not told what exactly Puṣya-yoga stands for, whether it is the conjunction of Jupiter with Tīṣya as commonly adopted by the Jaina poets, or the occultation of the yogatāra by the moon, or the full-moon in Puṣya. The destruction of Tripura is said to have come about near the time of sunrise on the night of the full-moon in Tīṣya. So we may assume Puṣya-yoga implies the full-moon in Puṣya-nakṣatra. The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* furnishes the basis for the Tripura legend. The observance of the *Upasads* in a Soma sacrifice is parallel to the action of an attacking army when it entrenches itself round a fort to force it to surrender. "The Asuras had three citadels; the

lowest was of iron, then there was one of silver, then one of gold. The gods could not conquer them; they sought to conquer them by siege; therefore they say—both those who know thus and those who do not—by siege they conquer great citadels. They made ready an arrow—Agni as the point, Soma as the socket, Viṣṇu as the shaft. They said, “who shall shoot it?” “Rudra” they said, “Rudra” is cruel; let him shoot it. He said “Let me choose a boon; let me be overlord of animals”. Therefore is Rudra overlord of animals. Rudra let the arrow go; it cleft the three citadels and drove the Asuras away from these worlds. The observance of the *Upasads* is for the driving away of foes.” (T.S. VI-2-3 Dr. Keith.)

According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*, Mayāsura obtains from Brahmā a special boon that his three magic cities, respectively of iron, silver and gold, should be invulnerable to all attacks and could be destroyed only by Lord Rudra with a single arrow shot in Puṣya-yoga. These cities kept moving about constantly in all directions and would come together in a single line once in a thousand years. In response to the prayers of the harassed Devas, Lord Rudra consents to lead the army of the Devas and besieges the cities of Mayāsura. The siege continues for a long time, since Rudra has to await the advent of the auspicious Puṣya-yoga. (a) The first attack on Tripura ends in a defeat for Mayāsura, who, however, manages to overpower Svāmi Kārttikeya. Of his two generals, Vidyunmāli the governor of the Silver fort and Tāraka the commander of the iron fort, Vidyunmāli is overpowered by Nandikeśvara and slain. Maya has a magic well of ambrosia inside the fort and he revives all his slain soldiers by dipping them in its nectar. A series of skirmishes follow the first attack; but as often as the Asuras are killed, they are revived by the well of nectar. (b) The Devas discover this secret and Lord Viṣṇu assumes the form of a bull, enters the city and drains up the wells of nectar dry. (c) Mayāsura gets frightened and by the aid of his magical powers transports his cities to the western ocean. Then begins the third stage of the war. The Devas however, pursue him to the ocean and beleaguer the cities on all sides. Nandikeśvara kills both Tāraka and Vidyunmāli. The long-awaited Puṣya-yoga arrives and Rudra shoots his composite arrow endowed with special powers by Agni, Soma and Viṣṇu. The three cities are burnt up just as the full-moon is setting in the west and the brilliant sun is rising in the east. Mayāsura is saved by Rudra himself and runs away to the far-off regions whence he issues periodically to fight his battles over again.

Those who gave the final shape to the Tripura legend should have been clever astronomers. As pointed out by Lok. Tilak, the

pictorial representation of the starry heavens seems to be a common heritage of the Indo-European Aryans, with local modifications introduced later on (*Orion*, Ch V, p 101) The anthropomorphic attributes of Lords Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā appear to have been based on the distribution of the several constellations Starting with the allocation of Ārdrā to Rudra, we see him in his role of Divine Archer or Hunter in Sirius, accompanied by his dogs Canis Major and Canis Minor, hunting the wild boar in Monoceros, and disputing its possession with Arjuna in the Phalgunis The celestial waters of the Milky Way flow through his matted locks We have Soma the Moon in Orion bearing the emblem of the Deer's-Head (in Orion's belt) and that of Lepus, the Hare The celestial Gangā descends to the Pātāla regions as Eridanus the River, running down to Agastya the Divine Fisherman waiting with his Boat, the Argo-Navis (Vide R V, X-63-10). His consort, Pārvatī, is by his side in Punarvasū, claiming for herself the left half of his body and making him an Ardha-nārisvara His mount, Nandi is at his foot in Taurus, the Bull Brahmā, his charioteer in the Tripara expedition, is stationed in Auriga the Charioteer, with bright Capella as Brahmahridaya The chariot itself may be found in the Rohinī-śakata (Hyades), with the bull's horns lifting it up when it sank into the ground under the weight of Lord Rudra and his panoply To his right the Kṛttikās point out the birth-place of his son, Lord Kārttikeya Orion is Mount Kailāsa and also Śaryanavat the celestial abode of Soma Kṛṣṇānu the Archer is there guarding Soma Lord Viṣṇu of the three strides is reclining on his favourite serpent-couch floating on the milky waters of the Āsādās His favourite mount Garuda can be found in Aquila His navel-born son, Brahmā, shines as Vega or Abhijit, with his own mount Cygnus the Swan standing or floating near by in the ramifications of the Milky Way

We may identify the three continually—moving castles of Tripara with the three superior planets, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. Venus and Mercury are out of the race since they cannot be seen near a full-moon The condition laid down that they should be found in a straight line with the arrow implies either that they had a common Right Ascension or were found to lie in a line with Sirius or Betelgeuse or the stars of Orion's belt, on the full-moon in Puṣya Employing the data given in the Planetary Tables of the *Indian Ephemeris* by Swamikannu Pillay, I find two dates satisfying the conditions The earlier date is B C 2271 (minus 2270), the later is 503 B C (minus 502) On both these dates there was the chance of a lunar eclipse—total in B C 2271 and penumbral in B C 503 The planets were clustered together within a space of eight degrees of longitude, between Rohinī (Aldebaran) and Betelgeuse (Ārdrā) The

full-moon in Puṣya was also in a line with them. We have to remember that all these observations were made and appearances judged with the naked eye. The curious reader can verify for himself the data given below and enlist the assistance of an expert professional astronomer for more accurate values. The maximum latitude of Jupiter and Mars is just over a degree; that of Saturn does not exceed two degrees and a half.

Solar year. Planet.	Minus 2270=B. C. 2271				Minus 502=B. C. 503			
	Jupiter	Saturn	Mars	Ardra	Jup.	Sat.	Mars.	Rudra
Nirayana Longitude	54	58	62	67	72	64	69	67
Ascending Node	98	116	58	..	90	106	45	..
Planet from node.	-44	-58	+4	..	-18	-42	+24	..

I conclude this extremely fascinating study of the astronomical background of the several legends about Rudra and Śiva with the following verse from the *Saundaryalaharī* of Śrī Śaṅkara:

Śaraj-jyotsnāsuddham śaśiyutajaṭājūṭamakūṭam
 Varatrāsatrāṇasphaṭikaghaṭikā pustakakarām
 Sakṛn-natvā natvā kathamiva satām samnidadhate
 Madhuksīradrākṣā madhurimadhurīṇaḥ phaṇitayaḥ. (15).

BHĀRATĪ

ŚAIVISM IN EARLY MEDIAEVAL INDIA AS KNOWN FROM ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES MAINLY INSCRIPTIONS

V. S. PATHAK

During Early Medieval Period Śaivism was very popular in Northern India. Majority of Gahadavāla¹, Chedi², Chandella³ and Orissa kings⁴ were styled as *Parama-māheśvara*. Harjaravarmma and Vaidyadeva of Assam, Vijayasena, Vallālasena of Bengal, Devapāla, Paramāra and Bhartrivādha Chāhamāna of Western India also bore this religious epithet.

Several rulers dedicated their kingdoms either to Śiva or to Śaiva ascetics. Thus, Avantivarmman⁵ of the Mattamayūra region and a Chedi

¹ Chandradeva (*EI*, XIV, 197-200), Madanapāla (*IA*, XIV, 101 ff), Govindachandra (*JASB*, XXXI, 123-24) and Hariśchandra (*EI*, X, pp. 97-98).

Lakshmi-Karnna (*EI*, II, pp. 305 ff), Yaśah-Karna (*EI*, XII, 210 ff), Narasimhadeva (*IA*, XVIII, pp. 211-13), Jayasimha (*IA*, XVII, 224 ff), Vijayasimha (*IA*, XVII, 227-30).

² Devavarmman (*IA*, XVI, 205 ff), Madanavarmma (*IA*, XVI, 202, 207-10), Parmarddi (*EI*, IV, pp. 135-70), Trailokya-varmmadeva (*EI*, XVI, pp. 272-77).

Mahābhavagupta Janmejaya (*EI*, XI, pp. 93-95), Mahāśivagupta Yayāti (*JBORS*, II, 45-59), Mahābhavagupta II (*EI*, III, pp. 355-59), *Gayādatunga* (*JASB*, 1909, V(N.S.) pp. 347-50, Ranabhañja (*EI*, XII, pp. 321-25), Vidyabhañja (*EI*, IX, 271-77), Netrabhañja (*EI*, XVIII, 293-95), Kulastambha (*EI*, XII, pp. 156-59), Raṇastambha (*JBORS*, II, pp. 396-400).

⁵ गत्वा तपस्यन्तमुपेन्द्रपूर्वे पुरे तदा श्रीमदवन्तिवर्मा ।

भूशं समाराध्य तमात्मभूमिं कथंचिदानीय चकार पूताम् ॥

अथोपसद्याप्य च सम्यगैशी दीक्षां स दक्षो गुरुदक्षिणार्थम् ।

निवेद्य तस्मै निजराज्यसारं स्वजन्मसाफल्यमवाप भूयः ॥१३॥

king of Dāhala had presented their kingdoms to the pontiffs of Śaiva-Siddhānta school.

The *Prabandha-Chintāmaṇi* records a tradition that a Solanki chief had given whole of the Mālava province as a present to Mahākāleśvara of Ujjain and appointed the Paramāras to administer¹ it. An inscription from Achalagaḍha discloses the existence of *Vijaya-rājya*² of a Śaiva ascetic. The Chedi records describe Vāmadeva who is perhaps identical with Vāmaśambhu, as *Parama-Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājdhirāja-Parameśvara-Vāmadeva*.

Some of the ascetics belonging to the Guhāvāsī line of Śaiva Siddhānta were very influential. They initiated in the faith the kings of Varmman dynasty in the Punjab and Chedi, Paramāra and Chanderi-Pratihāra dynasties of Central India. This line sent its branches to far off south in the Tamil and Andhra areas where these ascetics filled the role of *rājagurus*. Inscriptions preserve an unbroken line of Śaiva *rājagurus* of the Chedi kings running for more than two hundred and fifty years.

Sometimes, Purāṇas divide Śaivism in three categories—(i) Vedic, (ii) Tāntric and (iii) Mixed (*Miśra*).³ In the mixed (*miśra*) school of Śaivism, the main deity Śiva was worshipped along with other four gods. This school is, therefore, same as the *Smārta* cult of the *pañchadevopāsanā*. Vedic Śaiva school appears to be same as Lākuliśa Pāśupata whereas Tāntric school was perhaps constituted by Kālānana, Kāpālīka and other extreme sects. It may, however, be noted that even Lākuliśa Pāśupata is originally *Āgamic* but it is described in the Purāṇas as Vedic because it is comparatively more orthodox and in the beginning it recognised the Vedic institution of Varṇa. The Śaiva-Siddhānta school was *Āgamic*.

¹ देवादेशाद्भुजद्वये लग्ने सति तं मालवदेशं सान्तः पुरं तस्मै देवाय दत्त्वा तद्रक्षाधिकृतान् परमारराजपुत्रान् नियोज्य स्वयमेव तापसीं दीक्षामंगीचक्रे ।

Prabandha Chintāmaṇi, p. 11.

² महाशैले श्री अचलेस्व (श्व) र महामठात् परमभट्टारक परममाहेस्व (श्व) रः पर-निरंजनः कन्दर्पदर्पदलनस्ववस (श) उद्योत्कर राज श्री सर्वेस्व (श्व) र महामुनीन्द्र विजयराज्ये ५-७

J. Orissa H. R., 1952, I, p. 50

³ तांत्रिकं वैदिकं मिश्रं त्रिधा पाशुपतं शुभम् ।

तप्तलिङ्गांकशूलादिधारणं तान्त्रिकं मतम् ॥

लिङ्गरुद्राक्षभस्मादिधारणं वैदिकं भवेत् ।

रविं शम्भुं तथा शक्तिं विघ्नेशं च जनार्दनम् ॥

यजन्ति समभावेन मिश्रं पाशुपतं हि तत् ॥

Kūrma Purāṇa as quoted in *Śrīkarabhāṣya*.

SCHOOLS OF ŚAIVISM

The *Mallāpuram*¹ Stone Ins of the time of the *Kākāṭīya* king *Rudra deva* Ś S 1183 mentions four schools of Śaivism—(a) Śaiva, (b) Kālānana, (c) Śiva Śāsana and (d) Paśupata. Lists of these schools occur in the *Vāmana*² and *Śiva Purāṇas*,³ the *Āgama Pramānya*⁴ of Yāmunāchārya, the *Śrī bhāṣya*⁵ of Rāmanuja, the commentary⁶ of Vāchaspati Miśra on the *Śārīraka bhāṣya*, the *Shaddarśana Samuchchaya*⁷ of Haribhadra Sūri and other *Āgamic*⁸ works.

A comparison of these lists would indicate that the four important schools with their sub sects were prevalent in the country —

- (a) Śaiva or more precisely Śaiva Siddhānta school,
- (b) Kālānana also known as Kārūka,
- (c) Paśupata with a branch of the Lākuliśa Paśupata,
- (d) Kāpālīka with its associate cult of the Soma.⁹

¹ उपेयुपा शैवतपोधनानां कालाननानां शिवशासनानाम् ।

विद्याथिनां पाशुपतव्रतानामप्यन्नवस्त्रादिसमर्पणाय ॥

Viśveśvara, the Śaiva pontiff had sanctioned a land-grant for providing meals and clothes to the students and ascetics belonging to these four sects

JAHRs, IV 147, ff

² आद्य शैव परिख्यातमन्यत्पाशुपत मुने । तृतीय कालवदन चतुर्थञ्च कपालिनम् ॥

³ शैवा सिद्धान्तमार्गस्था शशैवा पाशुपतास्तथा ।

शैवा महाव्रतधराशैवा कपालिकापरे ॥ *Vaṣaṣṭya Samhita* XXIX

⁴ यथा माहेश्वरे तत्रे विरुद्ध बहुजल्पितम् । चतुर्विद्याहि तत्सिद्धचर्यामार्गानुसारिण ॥

यथा कपालिका कालामुखा पाशुपतास्तथा । शैवास्तत्र च कपालमतमेव प्रचक्षते ।

Āgamapramānya p

⁵ इदानीं पशुपतिमतस्य वेदविरोधादसामजस्याच्चनादरणीयतोच्यते । तन्मतानुसारिणश्चतुर्विधा कपाला कालामुखा पाशुपता शैवाश्चेति ।

On *Brahmasūtra* II 2-35

⁶ माहेश्वराश्चत्वार शैवा पाशुपता कारुणिक कारुक सिद्धान्तिन कपालिकश्चेति ।

⁷ ते च शैवादि भेदेन चतुर्था भवन्ति । तदुक्तम्

आधारभस्मकौपीनजटायशोपवीतिन । स्वस्याचारादिभेदेन चतुर्धा स्युः तपस्विन । शैवा पाशुपताश्चैव महाव्रतधरास्तथा । तुर्या कालामुखा मुरया भदास्तेषां तपस्विनाम् ।

⁸ शैव पाशुपत सौम लाकुल च चतुर्विधम् ।

Suprabhedāgama, Kriyāpāda

Isana Śivaguru paddhati, pt. III, Kriyapada, Ch I, p 6, quotes *Śāṭyambhu Tantra* as follows

पुन स्वेच्छावतारेषु तन्त्र पाशुपत तथा । वा (ला) कुल सोमतन्त्र च जगाद परमेश्वर । तत्र शैव तु मुख्य स्याद् यदादौ शिवभाषितम् ।

⁹ The Kāpālīkas are associated with the Soma cult in inscriptions as well as in literature. *Vide, Prabodha Chandrodaya*, act III and see *infra*

Sometimes it is mentioned as Śiva-Śāsana or Mahāvratadhara.¹ Some south Indian inscriptions mention the "six samayas or cults" which have been alternatively explained as (a) Bhairava, (b) Vāma, (c) Kālāmukha, (d) Mahāvrata, (e) Pāśupata and (f) Śaiva. The last four are the same as above. The 'Vāma' and 'Bhairava' cults are not mentioned in inscriptions. They may be same as kāpālīka. The *Śaṅkara-Digvijaya* of Ānandagiri mentions some other six sects.² Literature contains some more names.³

1. PĀŚUPATA SCHOOL

1. HISTORY

A. Śrīkanṭha the Founder :—

The *Mahābhārata* mentions Pāśupata as one of the five religious schools. It is stated to have been revealed by Śrīkanṭha, the consort of Umā and son⁴ of Brahmā. The tradition recurs in several works belonging

¹ It may be noted that in the *Vāyaviya Samhita* quoted in fn.3 above *mahāvratā-dhara* occurs in place of Kālānana and distinct from the Kāpālīka but vide *Haridatta Sūri* who takes it as a name of the Kāpālīka sect. There seems to be some mistake in the *Vāyaviya Samhita*. Dr. Bhandarkar seems to be indecisive. He sometimes identifies *mahāvratā-dharas* with Kālāmukhas and sometimes with Kāpālīkas (p. 168).

² भुजद्वयलिंगधराः शैवाः । फाले त्रिशूलधारिणः रौद्राः । भुजद्वये डमरुधारिणः उग्राः फाले लिंगचिह्नधारिणः भट्टाः । हृदि त्रिशूलं शिरसि पाषाणलिंगञ्च धारिणो जंगमाः । ललाटे भुजद्वये हृन्नाभिषु लिंगधारिणः पाशुपता इत्युच्यन्ते ।

³ (a) केचिल्लोकायतं ब्रह्मन् केचित् सोमं महामुने ।
नाकुलं केचिदिच्छन्ति तथा केचित्तुभैरवम् ॥

Tantrādhikāri-nirṇaya, p. 2.

The *Lokāyata* sect has been mentioned here as a Śaiva school although different from the Soma cult.

(b) शैववैमलसिद्धान्ता आर्हताः कारुकाश्च ये ।

Tantrāloka, XIII, V. 8. Here *Vaimala* and *ārhatā* also seem to be sub-sects or schools of Saivism.

⁴ सांख्यं योगं पांचरात्रं वेदाः पाशुपतन्तथा ।

ज्ञानान्येतानि राजर्षे विद्धि नानामतानि वै ॥६४॥

उमापतिर्भूतपतिः श्रीकण्ठो ब्रह्मणः सुतः ।

उक्तवानिदमव्यग्रो ज्ञानं पाशुपतं शिवः ॥६७॥ *Śāntiparva*, 349.

to various schools of Śaivism and composed in different parts of the country It is recorded in the *Tantraloka*¹ the *Śivadrīṣṭi*² the *Bṛhadyāmala*³ the *Pīṅgalāmata*⁴ and the *Śiva Purāṇa*⁵ A commentary on the *Śaradatilaka*⁶ begins with a salutation to Śrīkanṭha, the first teacher of the doctrine The *Tantraloka*⁷ likewise describes Śrīkanṭha as the unique teacher on the earth Aghoraśiva, the Śaiva Siddhānta ascetic of the Chola country commenting upon the *Ratnatraya* mentions Śrīkanṭha as the Guru to be saluted in the beginning⁸

(1) *Works of Śrīkanṭha* —The *Tantraloka* mentions the *Māṅgalya Śāstra* in which Śrīkanṭha discussed the nature of *Śakti* and *Śaktimān*⁹ The same work quotes in another context some verses from a book by¹⁰

¹ *Kashmir Shaivism*, pp 56, *Tantraloka*, I, p 27

² कलौ प्रवृत्ते यातेषु दुर्गमगोचरम् । कणपिप्रामप्रमुलच्छिन्न शिवशासने ॥
कैलासादौ भ्रमन्देवो मूर्त्या श्रोकण्ठरूपया । अनुग्राहायवतीर्णश्चादयामास भूतल ॥
Ibid, pp 22 23

³ ज्ञानौघेनसमाख्यात पदबन्धजनेन तु ।
श्रीकण्ठस्य प्रसादेन सर्वोऽस्य परिणतो मम ॥ *Studies in the Tantras*, p 102
श्रीकण्ठे महान्प्रोक्त भूत्वा सदाशिवपदात् । सरहस्य महादेवि शृणुष्वेकाग्रमानसा ।
Ibid, p 103

⁴ अस्य तन्त्रस्य का सज्ञा, पिंगलामत सज्ञा * * । क कर्ता भगवान् श्रीकण्ठनाथ
कर्ता ।
Ibid, p 106

⁵ श्रीकण्ठेन शिवेनोक्ता शिवायै च शिवागमा ।
शिवाश्चित्तानां कारुण्यात् श्रेयसामेककारणम् ॥ 9, *Vajratyā, Śiva*, Ch IX

⁶ श्रीकण्ठ वसुमन्त वसुगुप्त सोमानन्द तथोत्पलाचार्यम् ।
लक्ष्मणममिनवगुप्त वन्दे श्रीक्षेमराज च ॥

Quoted in *Kashmir Shaivism*, p 25n

⁷ जयति गुरुरेक एव श्रीश्रीकण्ठो भुवि प्रथित ।
तदपरमूर्तिर्भगवान् महेश्वरो भूतिराजश्च ॥ *Tantraloka*, I, p 28

⁸ सकलसहितानामवतारकत्वेन गुरु भगवत् श्रीकण्ठनाथ सर्वविघ्नापह च गणपति
...अभिवन्दते । *Ratnatrayam*, p 1

⁹ शक्तयोऽस्य जगत्कृत्स्न शक्तिमास्तु महेश्वर ।
इति मागल्यशास्त्रे तु श्रीश्रीकण्ठो न्यरूपयत् ॥४०॥ *Tantraloka*, III, p 347
Jayaratha quotes verses from this work in the commentary

¹⁰ In the commentary Jayaratha says that इति श्री कण्ठनाथोक्ति
“this is the statement of Śrī Śrīkanṭha”
Śrī Śrīkanṭha as an authoritative Āgama has also been frequently
quoted by Jayaratha —
एतच्च श्रीश्रीकण्ठयाभिधानपूर्वक विस्तरत उक्तम् ।

Śrīkanṭha. The colophon of a manuscript of the *Tantrāsāra*¹ deposited in the Nepal Darbar Library mentions Śrīkanṭhanātha, another form of Paśupati, the great Pāśupata teacher as the writer of the book.

(ii) *Śrīkanṭha in the Śaiva Pantheon*:—Like many other human teachers Lakulīśa, Goraksha, etc. Śrīkanṭha is also recognised as a god in the Śaiva pantheon. Thus he is mentioned as a deity in various positions in the Trik school. He is sometimes regarded as identical with Śadāśīva having five faces probably because he revealed the doctrine having five sources (*pañchaśrotorūpa*).² He is guardian-protector of *Siddhi* as well.³ The form of Śrīkanṭha with five faces was accepted in the Lākulīśa school also. *The Cintrā Praśasti* mentions a temple for Śrīkanṭha *pañcha-mukha*, i.e. Śrīkanṭha having five⁴ faces. In the Śaiva Siddhānta school he is described as one of the eight Vidyēśvaras.⁵ The *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* also counts him amongst Vidyēśvaras.⁶ *The⁷ Bihari Ins.* describes Yuva-rāja II who dedicated his whole empire to his Śaiva Siddhānta preceptor as always engaged in the worship of Śrīkanṭha.

¹ A. manuscript of the *Jñānakārikā* forms the suite with another text *Tatvasāra* the colophon of which reads.

श्रीपशुपतिभट्टारकस्य मूर्तिधरपरमपाशुपताचार्य-श्रीकण्ठगुरुणा स्वात्महेतोः
ज्ञानपुस्तकमिति शुभमस्तु ।

Bagchi, thereupon, remarks that this pretentious Śrī Śrīkanṭha “has probably nothing to do with the traditional *āchārya* of the Pāśupata sect bearing that name.” But the description—“the incarnation (*mūrtidhara*) of Paśupati and ‘the Great Pāśupata teacher’ points towards Śrīkanṭha of the tradition.

² See *infra* p. 8

³ प्रतिलोकं नियुक्तात्मा श्रीकण्ठो हठतो बहुः ।

सिद्धिर्देदात्यसावेवं श्रीमद्भैरवशासने ॥ *Tantra*. V, p. 30.

⁴ श्रीकण्ठपञ्चमुखवासमधिष्ठितानि । येनाक्रियन्त कृतिनायतानि पञ्च ॥४०॥

EI, I, p. 284.

⁵ The *pūrva-Kāraṇāgam* as quoted in Rao : *EHI*, II, II, App. 197.

अनन्तेशस्तथा सूक्ष्मश्शिवोत्तमश्चैकनेत्रकः ।

एकरुद्रस्त्रिमूर्तिश्च श्रीकण्ठश्च शिखण्डिनः ॥

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 197.

⁷ चित्रं यच्च सरस्वतीकृतरतिः श्रीकण्ठपूजापरः । V. 69

B. Lakulīśa :—

The *Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha* mentions Nā (Lā) kulīśa—Pāsupata school. Lakulīśa the founder of this Pāsupata school is stated as an incarnation of Śiva in the Purāṇas,¹ the *Ātma-Samarpaṇa*,² the *Kāraṇa-Māhātmya*,³ the *Pañchārthika*⁴ commentary, the *Tantrāloka*,⁵ etc. He is also mentioned in a number of inscriptions. According to the Purāṇas he was the last and twenty-eighth incarnation of Śiva in a brāhmaṇa family at Kayāvarahana (vulgo Kāraṇa) in the Dabhoi Taluk of Baroda State. Rāśīkara states that he preached his first sermon at Ujjain.

The Pāsupata *Sūtras*, also known as the *Pañchādhyayi*, form the basis of this school. As this work is attributed to him, R. G. Bhandarkar regards Lakulīśa as the founder of the Pāsupata school. He observes, "the other general name Pāsupata arose by dropping the name of the human individual Lakulin and substituting that of the god Paśupati whose incarnation he was supposed to be, as is done in the text of the *Mahābhārata* quoted above."⁶ This means that the story of the promulgation of the Pāsupata doctrine by Śrīkanṭha is but a fiction

(i) *Śrīkanṭha and Lakulīśa* :—But the tradition of Śrīkanṭha as a teacher of the Śaiva religion occurring in the works of various schools of Śaivism from different parts of the country, the mention of his name in the list of teachers, his description "as unique teacher on earth" and lastly quotations from works attributed to him are very strong indications in favour of his historicity.

Bagchi has casually suggested that "Lakulīśa was probably his disciple and that these two were responsible for the foundation of the Pāsupata religion."⁷

The *Tantrāloka* associates Lakulīśa and Śrīkanṭha. It states that Śrīkanṭha and Lakulīśa are the only two authorities on Śiva Śāsana.⁸ The

¹ *Vāyu*, ch. XXIII., *Liṅga*, XXIV,

² *Gaṇa Kārikā*, G.O.S., App. I, p. 25.

³ *Ibid*, App. IV, p. 37.

⁴ मनुष्यरूपी भगवान् ब्राह्मणकायमास्थाय कायावतरणे अवतीर्ण इति । तथा पद्म्या-
मुज्जयिनी प्राप्तः ।...अतो रुद्रप्रचोदितः कुशिकभगवानभ्यागत्य...पृष्टवान् ।
etc. p.4.

⁵ *Tantrāloka*, XIII, p. 340.

⁶ *Vaiṣṇavism* etc. *Coll. Works of Bhandarkar*, IV, 'p. 172.

⁷ *HBD*, p. 405.

⁸ एतद्विपर्ययादग्राह्यमवश्यं शिवशासनम् ।

द्वावाप्तौ तत्र च श्रीमच्छ्रीकण्ठलकुलेश्वरी ॥ *Tantrāloka*, XII, p. 396.

same work describes Lakuliśa with other Śaiva incarnations as proclaimer of the glories of Śrīkanṭha.¹

But Lakuliśa does not seem to be an immediate disciple of Śrīkanṭha because the accounts of Śrīkanṭha and Lakuliśa available from literature and inscriptions do not represent them as teacher and disciple on the other hand a tradition in the Āgama quoted by Abhinavagupta records the receiving of the doctrine by Lākula from Swachchhanda.² Moreover, references to the Pāsupata school occur centuries earlier than Lakuliśa.

It seems that the Pāsupata school was founded by Śrīkanṭha from which later on several branches sprung forth. The branch started by Lakuliśa was called after him as Lākuliśa Pāsupata.

2. HISTORY : SCHOOLS OF ŚAIVISM

A. Śiva Śāsana School :

The Pāsupata school founded by Śrīkanṭha is also called in literature as Śiva Śāsana.³ It is mentioned in the *Malkāpuram Ins. of Rudradeva*⁴. It is described as five-fold and as having five sources (*pañcha-srotorūpa*).⁵ All other schools are described to have originated from it.

B. Lākuliśa Pāsupata School :

Origin of the School :—The school was founded by Lakuliśa who as we have already seen is described as an incarnation of Śiva. Purāṇas and inscriptions mention Kuśika, Gārgya, Maitreya and Kaurusha as his disciples.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 340.

² *Ibid*, p. 383.

³ *Tantrāloka*, I, p. 34, XII, p. 397.

⁴ उपेयुपां शैवतपोधनानां कालाननानां शिवशासनानाम् ।
विद्यार्थिनां पाशुपतव्रतानामप्यन्नवस्त्रादि समर्पणाय ॥

JAHS, VI, p. 147 ff.

⁵ तच्च पंचविधं प्रोक्तं शक्तिवैचित्र्यचित्रितम् ।

पंचस्रोत इति प्रोक्तं श्रीमच्छ्रीकण्ठशासनम् ॥१६॥

Tantrāloka, XII, p. 397.

The *pañchasrota* is explained by Jayaratha in *Tantrāloka*, I, p. 34 as :—
तत्र हि परमेश्वर एव चिद् आनन्द-इच्छा-ज्ञान-क्रियात्मकं वक्त्रपंचकासूत्रेण सदा-
शिवेश्वरदशमधिशयानः तद्वक्त्रपंचकमेलनया पंचस्रोतोमयं अभेद-भेदाभेद-भेददशो-
ट्टकनेन तत्तद्भेदप्रभेदवैचित्र्यात्मनिखिलं शास्त्रमवतारयति

Date of Lakulīśa —R G Bhandarkar places the rise of the Pāsupata school in second century¹ B C while D R Bhandarkar suggested on the basis of the *Mathurā Pillar Ins of the time of Chandragupta II* that Lākulīśa belonged to the second quarter of the first century A D² Although, this later date has been accepted by most scholars, it is not yet certain³

Diffusion of the School —The *Cintrā Prakāśa* of Śārngadeva states that four branches (*Jāti*s) sprung forth from the four disciples of Lākulīśa

(a) *The Kuśika Lineage* —Kuśika was the senior most disciple of Lākulīśa The *Mathurā Ins of Chandragupta II* mentions ascetics belonging to his line The *Udeyपुर Ins*⁴ of Naravāhana V S 1028=978 A D refers to Kuśika and records that ascetics characterised by "besmearing of ashes,

¹ *Vaisnavism, Saivism & Other Minor Religions*, p 116

² *El*, XXI, pp 1ff

³ The *Mathurā Ins of Chandragupta II* G S 61=380 A D mentions *ācārya Udiṭa* who was tenth from Kuśika Dr Bhandarkar identifies Kuśika with the homonymous disciple of Lakulīśa and, therefore, came to the conclusion that Lakulīśa, who must have flourished eleven generations before *Udiṭa*, might be placed in second century A D But Rāṣikāra mentions seventeen preceptors flourished in this line from Lakulīśa to Rāṣikāra In this list there are two preceptors of the name Kuśika the direct disciple of Lakulīśa and the tenth *tirthaka* who flourished in the sixth generation from Lakulīśa The identification of Kuśika, therefore, is not certain Rāṣikāra the seventeenth *tirthaka* has composed a commentary known as *Pārthārthi Bhāṣya* The internal evidence of the *bhāṣya* suggests an early date of its composition Pāṭliputra has been mentioned as the best fortified city Laws are comparable with those of Manu The only known writer quoted in the work is Manu This indicates early fourth century A D Hence if Rāṣikāra in early fourth century A D was seventh from Kuśika II, the preceptor *Udiṭa* of the inscription in late fourth century A D. would be naturally tenth from Kuśika II I, shall, therefore, suggest the identification with Kuśika II which would place Lakulīśa in second century B C This gets some confirmation from an Indonesian tradition which represents the four disciples with Patirājali as the Pāsupata pentad (*HBD* p 406 n)

⁴ इह बुधिवगाम्यं वीरपद्मैवेय इति तदतसद ॥१६॥

ततस्तपस्विना तेषा चतुर्धा जातिरुद्गता ।

भुव विभूषयामास चतुरर्णवमुद्रिता ॥१७॥ *El*, I, p 281

⁵ बुधियादयोऽन्ये भस्मागरागतपवत्यजटाविरीटलक्षमाण आधिर्भवन्मुनय पुराणा ।

L. 12 *BI*, p. 70.

wearing of the barks and matted hair” appeared in his line. Jain scholars mention eighteen *tīrtheśas* headed by Lākuliśa and Kuśika.¹ They are also referred to by Bhāva Sarvajña. These ascetics perhaps belonged to this line.

(b) *Gārgya Lineage* :—

(i) *The Cīntrā Prasasti* discloses the existence of ascetics belonging to the *gotra* of Gārgya.²

(ii) *The Meaning of Gotra* :—Inscriptions mention several *gotras* of ascetics. The word *gotra* in connection with ascetics has been defined by Abhinavagupta as “disciples of a teacher”. *Gārgya gotra* would, therefore, mean the disciples in the line of Garga.³

The Cīntrā Prasasti mentions Kārttika-rāśī, Taporāśī, Valmiki-rāśī and his disciple Gaṇḍa Tripurāntaka as belonging to this line.

(c) *Kaurusha Line* :—The third disciple was Kaurusha. Literature mentions a school of Śaivism by the name Kāruka.⁴ Rāmānuja and Keśava Kaśmīrī in the enumeration of Śaiva schools substitute Kālānana by Kāruka-Siddhānta.⁵ R. G. Bhandarkar, therefore, identifies Kārukas with Kālānanas.

He further suggests that Kāruka was either the corruption or the sanskritization of Kaurusha, the name of the third disciple of Lakuliśa who initiated the line of the Kārukas or the Kālānanas. The suggestion is confirmed by an inscription dated 1177 A.D. which describes the Kālānanas

¹ नकुलीशोऽथ कौशिकः, गार्ग्यः, मैत्र्यः, कौरुपः, ईशानः, पारगर्ग्यः, कपिलाण्ड, मनुष्यकः, कुशिकः, अत्रिः, पिगलः, पुष्पकः, बृहदार्यः, अगस्तिः, सन्तानः, राशीकरः विद्यागुरुश्च । एते तेषां तीर्थेशाः पूजनीयाः । Haribhadra : *Shad-darśana Samuchchaya*.

Rājasekhara Sūri also enumerates them. Bhāva Sarvajña mentions them in his commentary on the *Gaṇa-Kārikā* (p. 14). The *Cīntrā Prasasti* records that the first four after Nakulisa were the अन्तसदः (disciples ?) of Lakuliśa himself. These four are again described as disciples of Lakuliśa in the *Purāṇas*.

² *EI*, I, p. 282, V. 19.

³ गोत्रं च गुरुसन्तानो मठिकाकुलशब्दितः । *Tantrāloka* III, p. 296.

⁴ शैववैमलसिद्धान्ता आर्हताः कारुकाश्च ये ।

सर्वे ते पशवो ज्ञेया भैरवे मातृमण्डले ॥ *Ibid*, VIII, p. 184.

मौसले कारुकेचैव मायातत्त्वं प्रकीर्तितम् । *Ibid*, I, p. 70.

⁵ *Vaishnavism*, etc. p. 172.

as adhering to the *Lākulāgama samaya* The *Tandikoda Ins* of *Ammarāja* furnishes even stronger evidence It gives the history of a line of *Kalamukha* ascetics who traced their origin to *Lākuliśa* ¹

The history of this sect would be given a little later

(d) *Ananta Gotra* —

- (i) Besides the branches mentioned above, an Āgamic tradition describes the continuation of the *Lakula* doctrine through *Ananta* ² Ascetics of this line therefore, were described as belonging to *Ananta Gotra*
- (ii) *Ananta Gotra and the Kulas* —The *Harsha Stone Ins* records that *Viśvarūpa* flourished in “the tradition of *Kula*” while his disciple’s disciple is described as belonging to the “*Kula*” cult of the *Sāmsārikas* ³ This piece of information is of very great interest as it furnishes definite evidence to show the affiliation of the *Kula* school with the *Lakulas*

Jāti or the branch originated with *Maitreya* is not known

- (iii) *Ananta Gotra and Pāñchārthika Sect* —*Harsha Stone Ins* of *Viśrahapāla Chāhamāna* V S 1030 records the guru *Viśvarūpa* who belonged to the *Pāñchārthika* sect of the *Lakulas* in the *ananta gotra* ⁴ *Tewar Ins* of *Gayakarnadeva* K S 902=1151

¹ *EI*, XXIII, pp 161 170

² *Jayaratha* (T A Comm, XII, p 383) quotes it as from Āgama
 भैरवाङ्कुरी श्रान्त सिद्धयोगेश्वरी मतम् ।
 तत स्वच्छन्देन स्वच्छन्दात्लाकुलेन तु ॥
 लकुलीशानन्तेन अनन्तादगह्नाधिपिम् ॥

³ महाराजावली चासी शम्भुभक्तिगुणोदया ।
 श्रीहर्षं कुलदेवोऽस्यास्तस्माद्विष्य कुलक्रम ॥२७॥
 अनन्त गोच(त्)रे श्रीमान् पण्डित औत्तरेश्वर ।
 पचार्यलाकुलाम्नाये विश्वरूपोभवद्गुरु ॥२८॥
 भावरक्तोभवत्तस्य शिष्यो द्विनामतोल्लट ॥३०॥
 सासारिककुलाम्नायस्ततो यस्य विनिर्गम ॥३१॥ *EI* II, p 122

⁴ अनन्तगोचरे श्रीमान् पण्डित औत्तरेस्य (श्व) र ।
 पचार्यलाकुलाम्नाये विश्वरूपोभवद्गुरु ॥२८॥

EI, I, p 122, pl facing p 240

The word *gochara* in the pl reads like *gotre* *Tra* with the *hala* assuming the form of *cha* Anyway, the word ‘*anantagochara*’ means in the line of ‘*ananta*’

A.D. likewise describes Bhāvateja and his disciple Bhāva-
brahma who flourished in the *ananta gotra* as Pāñchārthika.¹

Pāñchārtha seems to be another name for the Pāśupata *Sūtras*. Śiva Purāṇa mentions *Pañchārthavidyā* as the highest type of philosophy² while *Pañchādhyāyī* is referred to by Keśava Kaśmīrī.³ *Sarva-darśana—Samgraha* mentions the Pāśupata *Sūtras* as *Pañchārtha*.⁴ Pāñchārthikas, therefore, seem to be the followers of Lākuliśa who composed the Pāśu-pata *Sūtras*. It is noteworthy that both these inscriptions mention the Pāñchārthikas of *ananta gotra*.

(iv) *Uttara Tantra* :—The same inscription describes Viśvarūpa as the master of *Uttara (tantra)*. This *tantra* also occurs in the *Sdok Kak Thom (Kambuj) Ins. of Udayadityavarman*,⁵ S. 974. Bagchi identifies it with the *Uttara-Sūtra* of the *Niśvāsātattva Samhitā* a manuscript of which in Gupta characters is preserved in the Nepal Darbar Library.⁶ Jayaratha also mentions *uttara* as a section of *Tantrika Samhitā*.⁷

(v) *Uttara-Pūrva and the Kaulas* :—The *Niśvāsa-tattva Samhitā* really consists of four sections—(i) *Mūla-Sūtra*, (ii) *Adi=Uttara-Sūtra*, (iii) *Prathama=Naya-Sūtra* and (iv) *Pūrva=Guhya-Sūtra*. The *Uttara-Sūtra* consists of “installation of images, sacrifices, initiation (*abhisheka* and *dīkshā*) and philosophy (*jñānayoga*) while the *Pūrva* or *Guhya-Sūtra* consists

¹ गोत्रेऽनन्त समोह्वयेऽभवदिनप्रख्यस्तपस्तेजसा ।

दृष्टादृष्टविशुद्धकर्मनिरतः श्रीभावतेजागुरुः ॥

आचार्योद्भुतकेवलार्थवचसां पांचार्थिको यः सुधी । *IA, XVIII, p. 210. ff.*

² *Vāyaviya Samhitā*, II, XXIV, 169.

³ *Vaishnavism* etc., p. 173.

⁴ *loc. cit.*

⁵ शास्त्रं शिरश्छेदविनाशिखाख्यं
सम्मोहनामापि नयोत्तराख्यम् ।

तत्तुम्बुरोर्वक्त्रचतुष्कमस्य

सिद्धयेव विप्रः समदर्शयत् सः ॥२८॥ *Ins. of Kambuja*, p. 374.

⁶ *Studies in Tantras*, pp. 6-8.

⁷ *There are seven kinds of tantrika texts—*

पादो मूलं तथोद्धारं उत्तरं बृहदुत्तरम् । कल्पश्च संहिता चैव कथिता तव सुव्रते ॥

T.A.Com, XII, p. 387.

of mystic practices *Lakshmīdhara* in his commentary on the *Saundaryā Laharī*¹ divides the Kaulas into two categories—
(i) *Uttara Kaulas* who worship the images and *yantras* of gods and goddesses and (ii) *Pūrva Kaulas* the mystic who worship the female organ of a young woman

Thus, the *Pāñchārthika Viśvarūpa* of Ananta Gotra seems to have been affiliated with the *Uttara Kaulas*

(c) *Chāpala Gotra* —The *Amareśvara Temple Ins* V S I(1)20 contains an account of Pandita Gṛndadhvaṇya of the *chāpala gotra*² He was a disciple of Vīvekarāśi who was again a disciple of *Supūjita rāśi* The *Abu Ins of the reign of Bhīma II* V S 1265=1208 A D³ mentions *Kedārarāśi* who was the best of ascetics belonging to the *chāpala gotra* of the Nūṭana monastery in Avanti Significance of the *chāpala gotra* is not known

(f) *Pranāma Gotra* —The *Amareśvara Temple Ins* mentions the *Pranāma gotra* of ascetics belonging to Someśvara monastery⁴

2 PHILOSOPHY OF THE LAKULĪŚA PĀSUPATA SCHOOL

A Nyāya-Pāsupata Philosophy

Ācharya Haribhadra Sūri in his *Shad-darśana samuchchaya*⁵ observes that the adherents of Nyāya school were Śaivas while the Vaiśeṣhikas were Pāsupatas Gunaratna⁶ also reports the same thing It is a fact that the followers of both Nyāya and Vaiśeṣhika schools were devoted to Śiva⁷

¹ *Saundaryā Laharī*, V 41

² *EI*, XXV, p 185, II 54-56

³ एतस्या पुरि नूतनाभिधमठात् सपन्नविद्यातया ।
धीरात्मा चपलीयगोत्रविश्वे निर्व्वर्णमार्गानुग ॥
अमलचपलगोत्रप्रोद्यनाना मुनीनामजनि तिलवरूपस्तस्य केदारराशि ।

IA, XI, pp 220 ff

⁴ *EI*, XXV, p 185, L 51

⁵ अयं योगमतं ब्रूम शैवमित्यपराभिधम् ।
अक्षपादो गुरुस्तेषां तेन ते ह्यक्षपादका ॥
अयं वैशेषिकं ब्रूम पाशुपतान्यानामकम् ।

Shaddarśana Samuchchaya, pp 11-12.

⁶ परं शास्त्रेषु नैयायिका सदा शिवभक्तत्वाच्छैवा इत्युच्यन्ते वैशेषिकास्तु पाशुपता ।

Gunaratna on *Shaddarśana Samuchchaya*, *Ibid*, p 30

⁷ The Purāṇas mention Akṣhapāda and Kanāda as the disciples of Somaśarmā an incarnation of Śiva at Prabhāsa (*Vaṇṇa*, Śiva Purāṇa ch V, vv 41-42) According to a tradition, Kanāda formulated the Vaiśeṣhika doctrine after propitiating Śiva Jayanta, Udayana and Vyomaśiva make obeisance to Śiva in the beginning of their writings

worship but the statement that the Vaiśeṣikas were all Pāśupatas in contradistinction to Naiyāyikas who were described as Śaivas seems to be faulty.

The combined testimony of literature and inscriptions clearly shows that Vyomaśiva, the Vaiśeṣika author belonged to Śaiva Siddhānta school.¹ Bhā-Sarvajña, the Pāśupata teacher who composed the famous commentary Ratnaprabhā on the *Gaṇa-Kārikā* was the celebrated author of the *Nyāya-bhūṣaṇa*. Udyotakara who composed a gloss on the *Nyāya-bhāṣya*, styles himself as a Pāśupata. Thus, there seems to be some mistake in the statement of Jain writers. The Śaivas were Vaiśeṣikas in contradistinction to Pāśupatas who adhered to Nyāya school.

B. Pāñchārthika Philosophy :

Besides the general affiliation with the Nyāya school, the specific philosophy of the Pāśupatas was Pāñchārthika. The *pañchārthālākula-āmnāya*² and the *pañchārthika*³ sect have been mentioned in inscriptions. This *pañchārthika* or the five categories propounded by Lākuliśa in the *Pāśupata Sūtras* are (i) Effect (*Kārya*), (ii) Cause (*Kāraṇa*), (iii) Religious practices (*Vidhi*), (iv) Yoga and (v) Cessation of miseries (*Dukḥānta*).

Inscriptions mention some of these principles.

(a) *Cause* :—Thus *Tewar Ins. of Gayakārṇa* set up by a Pāśupata ascetic invokes Śiva “who is an architect of the three worlds, a poet of the three Vedas, characterised by three Śāktis—*yatna* (activity), *bodha* (knowledge) and *icchā* (desire) and who manifests himself in eight forms.”⁴

The above verse in short sums up the Pāśupata conception of God—the Cause (*Kāraṇa*).

(i) *Śiva as Creator* :—Śiva is designated as *Pati* because he is endowed with *Śakti*.⁵ He with *Śakti* creates the universe but like an architect he is only an efficient cause (*nimitta*).

¹ See *infra*.

² पञ्चार्थलाकुलाम्नाये विश्वरूपोऽभवद्गुरुः ॥२८॥ *EL*. II. p. 122.

³ आचार्योद्भुतकेवलार्थवचसां पाञ्चार्थिको यस्सुधी ७
“पञ्चार्थबोध सुकृती” ११
भावब्रह्मसमस्तपरिचसु कलौ दृष्टो न पाञ्चार्थिकः ॥

² *IA.*, XVIII, p. 210 ff.

⁴ त्रैलोक्यसौधशिल्पी यस्त्रिवेदीवाक्यसत्कविः ।

नित्यप्रयत्नबोधेच्छा सोऽष्टमूर्तिः श्रियैस्तुवः ॥ १ *Ibid*, p. 210.

⁵ *Prayatna* (kriyā i.e. activity), *Bodha* (knowledge) and *Ichchā* (desire) as mentioned in the inscription are the three Śāktis of *Pati*. *Vide* निरतिशयद्रवक्रियाशक्ति पतित्वम् । *Gaṇakārikā* p. 11.

(u) *Śiva Revealed Vedas* —According to the Nyaya Paśupata philosophy the Vedas are *pauruṣeya* as they have been revealed by Śiva

(b) *Religious Practices (Vidhi)* —They consist of the vows (*vrata*s) specific practices known as *upahāras*, muttering of names (*japa*), circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇa*) mystic practices, etc

(c) *Yoga* —Inscription testify to the importance of *yoga* in the Paśu pata school The ascetic Bhavateja had constantly practised *yoga* while his disciple Bhava Brahma was 'another Sanatkumara to perform all the yogic practices mentioned in the Patañjala literature'¹ *Niyama* (regulations), *Pranāyāma* (control of breath) and *Samādhi*² have been mentioned in inscriptions They also refer to mental states like—*maitrī* (friendliness) *mudita* (the state of happiness) *Karunā* (compassion) etc³

(d) *Vow (Vrata)* —The Paśupata *vrata* consists in the besmearing of and sleeping over ashes This is a very important and ancient practice It frequently occurs in the Paśupata literature⁴ and is noted as the characteristic of Paśupata ascetics

The Udeypur Ins of Naravahana mentions ascetics of this school "having the characteristics of the besmearing of ashes⁵ wearing of the

¹ यो ब्रह्मचर्यविधिनान्यसनकुमार पातजलागमनिरूपितयोगसद्य । १०

IA, XVIII, 210 ff

² प्राणायाम समाधि सिद्धनियमध्यानासनैरन्वह १३ Ibid

³ मैत्री तस्य सुबोधिरात्ममुदिता शास्त्रागमे योगिन

शिष्याना कर्णा भवेच्च विषयोऽपेक्षा शिवज्ञानत । १४ Ibid

⁴ The earliest reference occurs in the *Atharvafirsha Upanishad* I para 67 The application of ashes is termed as *Paśupata vrata* and is meant for the loosening of the fetters of *paśu* (*paśu paśa vimokṣaya*) Varaha mihira refers to *sabhasma dya* who is entitled to consecrate the image of Śiva Utpala explains *sabhasma dya* as a Paśupata (DHI, p 230) The *Paśupata Sūtras* (pp 8, 9) enjoin to besmear the body with ashes thrice a day भस्मनि निषवण स्नायीत and to sleep on ashes भस्मनि शयीत Rāṣikara quotes an anonymous verse to the effect that a person who sleeps on ashes is freed from sins of heinous crimes —

मद्य पीत्वा गुरुदाराश्च गत्वा स्तेय कृत्वा ब्रह्महत्याच कृत्वा ।

भस्मोद् ध्वस्तो भस्मराशौ शयाना रुद्राध्यायी मुच्यते पातकेभ्य ।

Pancharitu Bhashya p 29

Huen Tsiang describes them as 'the ash besmeared *tirthakas* while Rajaśekhara (p 11) and Haribhadra mention them as 'ascetics who are anointed with ashes'

⁵ भस्मागरागतखल्कजटाकिरीटलक्ष्माण आविर्भवन्मुनय पुराणा । BI p 70

barks of trees and matted hair.” According to the *Harsha Ins.* nakedness, matted hair, besmearing of ashes, sleeping on earth, food received as alms and hand used as drinking cup” were the features of ascetic Bhāvodyota.¹ Sleeping over ashes has been ordained in the *Pāśupata Sūtras*. The *Tewar Ins.* praises Bhāva Brahma because he sleeps over pure ashes.²

(i) *Sādhanā or Mystic Practices* :—These are objectionable acts deliberately performed by ascetics to bring themselves to ridicule. One of these is *Śringāraṇa* which is showing oneself to be in love by means of amorous gestures as if on seeing a beautiful lady. Rao suggests that some of the obscene sculptures in ancient temples depict these practices.³

(ii) *Other Practices* :—Bhāva Brahma has been described in inscriptions as one “who takes very small quantity of meals obtained through⁴ begging.” Kaundinya enjoins ascetics to take a very small quantity of meals and quotes a verse which highly extols the practice of begging.⁵

(iii) *Pūrtta Activities* :—In the *ananta* school of the Pāśupatas, *Pūrtta* activities were also recognised. The *Tewar Ins.* states that “the final deliverance of ascetics is attained by *pūrtta* (which is a *nivartaka* activity) and knowledge (*bodha*). Therefore, Bhāva Brahma who desired salvation built this temple of Śiva.”⁶ The *Swachchhanda Tantra* which as we have already seen was recognised in the *ananta* school, mentions two kinds of worshippers—(a) the devotee who travels on the path of knowledge and who is always engaged in the worship through *mantras* and (b) the worshipper who follows the path of the world and is engaged in performing the *ishta* and *pūrtta* activities.⁷ The ascetic Bhāva Brahma combined both the ways of knowledge (*bodha*) and *nivartaka* activity (*pūrtta*).

¹ दिगम्बरं जटा भस्म तल्पं च विपुलं मही ।
भिक्षावृत्तिः करः पात्रं यस्यैतानि परिग्रहः ॥४१॥

कौपीनमात्रवसनः शुचिभस्मशायी L. 10, *IA*, XVIII, 210ff.

³ *EHI*, I, p. 23n.

⁴ मितभैक्षभोजी LL. 9-10, *IA*, XVIII, pp. 210 ff.

⁵ The *Pāśupata Sūtras*, 14 and commentary on it (p. 119).

⁶ पूर्तेन धर्मेण निवर्त्तकेन मुक्तिर्भवेत् संयमिनश्च बोधात् ।
एतद् द्वयं प्राप्तुमयं मुमुक्षुर्व्यधापयदेवमिमां शिवस्य ॥१६॥

IA, XVIII, p. 210 ff.

⁷ ज्ञानवांश्चाभिषिक्तश्च मन्त्राराधनतत्परः ।
त्रिविधायास्तु सिद्धिर्वै सो ब्राह्मः शिवसाधकः ॥८४॥
द्वितीयो लोकमार्गस्थ इष्टापूर्त्तविधौ रतः ।
कर्मकृत्फलमाकांक्षंशुभैकस्थो अवग्रह ॥८५॥

(e) *Dukkhānta* —The *Tewar Ins* records that the ascetic Bhāvateja obtained "the association (*sāyujya*) with Śiva as a consequence of enlightenment (*bodha*)" ¹ The *pāśupatas* believe in the *sāyujya* form of salvation It is mentioned in the *Pāśupata Sūtras* and is elaborately discussed in the commentary of Rāśikara According to it, a devotee does not merge himself in the Godhead but merely obtains association with Him ²

3 PANTHEON

Pāśupatas are devoted to Śiva According to scriptures, they worship Śiva besmeared with ashes and wearing *jaṭā mukuta* ³ *Īśāna śiva guru paddhati* describes the *Pāśupata* form of Śiva which might have been the form for the *Pāśupatas* ⁴ to worship

A The Eight Forms of Śiva —

The *Tewar Ins* invokes Śiva who manifests himself in eight forms ⁵ The *Harsha Stone Inscription* set up by a *Pañcharthika* eulogises the mountain Harsha where Śive in eight forms, the guardians of eight *siddhis*, resides ⁶ These eight forms of Śiva are mentioned in a number of inscriptions in India and Greater India ⁷

The concept of eight forms is very ancient and is associated with the cult of *Pāśupati* These forms are (i) Śarva, (ii) Bhava, (iii) Īśana, (iv) Rudra, (v) Ugra (vi) Bhīma, (vii) *Pāśupati* and (viii) Mahadeva They are mentioned in *Śatapatha* and *Sāṅkhāyana Brahmanas, Sūtras* etc

(i) *Ashta Pushpikā* —The worship of these forms with *ashta pushpikā* is also mentioned in inscriptions The *Pāśupati Temple Ins of Jayadeva*

¹ शिवस्य सायुज्यमवाप बोधात् ८ *IA*, XVIII, 210 ff

² साक्षाद् रुद्रेण सह सयोग सायुज्यम् ।.....योगपर्यायोऽवगम्यते ।

Pañcharthi Bhāṣya, p 131.

³ *EHI*, II, I, Introduction p 29

⁴ *Vol IV*, p 414

⁵ त्रैलोक्यसीवशिल्पी यस्मिन्वेदीवाक्यसत्कवि ।

नित्यप्रयत्नबोधेच्छा सोऽष्टमूर्ति त्रियेऽस्तु व ॥ *IA*, XVIII, p 210 f

⁶ अष्टमूर्तित्यमध्यास्ते सिद्धयष्टकविभु स्वयम् ।

महिमा भूधरस्यास्य *V 11, EI, II*, p 120

⁷ *Devapattan Pratāsti of Śrīdhara EI, II*, p 439 *V 2 Pāśupati Temple (Nepal) Ins of Jayadeva, (IA, IX, 178) Mebon Stale Ins of Rajendravarmman (Ins of Kambuja, pp 193 ff) Sdok Kak Thom Ins of time of Udayāditya varmman (loc cit) etc. pp 361 ff*

records a royal present of an 'eight-petalled silver lotus to the god so that Eight Forms may be accommodated on its petals.¹ *The Sdok Kak Thom Ins. of Udayāditya-varmman* states that the royal priest used to offer daily an *ashṭa-pushpikā* to *ashṭa-tanu*.² The worship by *ashṭa-pushpikū* is described by Bāṇa in the *Harsha-charita*.³

Inscriptions indicate that this cult of *ashṭa-mūrti* was specially associated with the Pāśupatas.⁴

B. Pañcha-Brahma :

Śrī-Kanṭha-pañcha-mukha mentioned in the *Cintrā Praśasti* was same as the *pañcha-mukha* form representing *Sadyojāta*, *Tatpurusha*, *Vāmadeva*, *Īśāna* and *Aghora*. It may be noted that the *Pāśupata Sūtras* are divided in five sections each dealing with one of these five forms.

C. Śrī-Kanṭha, Ananta, Lakuliśa and Goraksha :

These seem to be the Śaiva teachers who later on elevated to the position of deities. Śrī-Kanṭha and Ananta are mentioned as *Vidyēśvara*⁵ while Lakuliśa is described as an incarnation of Śiva. Goraksha, as we shall see, was one of the five members of the Pāśupata pentad.

¹ मूर्तीरष्टाभिरष्टौ महयितुमतुलैः स्वैर्दलैरष्टमूर्तैः । V. 19. IA, IX, p. 178.

² अतन्द्रिताभ्यस्तविचार्यशास्त्रसारसुसमध्यापितवांश्च काले ।

योऽदात्स्वयं प्रत्यहमष्टपुष्पीन्तनूनपातोऽष्टतनोश्च तुष्टये ॥६७॥

Ins. of Kambuja, p. 377.

³ अथ महतः कार्पटिकवृन्दस्य मध्ये प्रातरेव स्नातम् । दत्ताष्टपुष्पिकम्

Harsha-charita (Nirṇaya Sāgara Edition), p. 103.

See also.

अवनिपवनवनगगनदहनतपनतुहिनकिरणयजमानमयीमूर्तीरष्टावपि, ध्यायन्ती सुचिर-
मष्टपुष्पिकामदात् । *Ibid*, p. 21.

⁴ It is mentioned in the invocation of the Pañchārthika inscriptions. See fn. 1.

⁵ अनन्तश्च त्रिमूर्तिश्च सूक्ष्मः श्रीकण्ठ एव च । शिवशिख एकनेत्र एकस्त्रश्च ते क्रमात् ॥
Quoted from *Vishṇu Dharmottara Purāṇa* in *EHI*, II, II, Appendix. Ananta as Vidyēśvara is mentioned in the *Tantrāloka*, and Śaiva Siddhānta literature. Thus *Sarvadarsana Samgraha* in the chapter on the Śaiva Darśana quotes :

अनन्तश्चैव सूक्ष्मश्च तथैव च शिवोत्तमः ।

एकनेत्रस्तथैवेकस्त्रश्चापि त्रिमूर्तिकः ॥

श्रीकण्ठश्च शिखण्डी च प्रोक्ता विद्येश्वरा इमे ॥

4 NAMES OF THE PĀSUPATAS

They generally end in 'rāṣī' They are, sometimes, preceded by the titles *bhāva* or *ganda* Whatever little evidence could be gathered from inscriptions indicates that the Kālānana ascetics who were perhaps the disciples of Kauruslia and the ascetic of Garga school have *rāṣī*—ending¹ names while ascetics of *Pranāma* and *Ananta gotras* have the title of *bhāva*² Ascetics of the Gārgya branch bore the title of *Ganda* which is probably the designation of a pontiff³

II. KĀPĀLIKA SCHOOL

As is natural, there are few epigraphic references to Kāpālikas The *Chhatra Chandēśvara* (Nepal) *Ins* of *Jishnugupta* mentions the Paśupata teachers wearing the garland of skulls⁴ The *Tilakaicādā CP* of the time of *Bhoja Paramāra* contains a reference to an ascetic who had taken *mahāvratā*⁵ As we would see, these *mahāvratikas* were identical with Kapālikas Kāpālikas are also associated with Śiva Śāsana and Soma Siddhānta

Early History of the Kāpālikas —The earliest reference to the Kāpālikas occurs in the *Maṭṛi Upaniṣad*⁶ which was composed in the post-sūtra period They are mentioned in the *Purāṇas*,⁷ *tāntric* works, the *Matṭa vilāsa*,⁸ the *Mālātī Mūdhava*,⁹ the *Karpūra mañjarī*,¹⁰ the *Prabandha*

¹ The *Cintra Praśasti* mentions *Kārttika-rāṣī*, *Tapo-rāṣī* and *Valmiki rāṣī* Ascetics of *Chāpalya Gotra* in the *Abu Ins* have also *rāṣī* ending names—*Vālkalarāṣī*, *Jyeshtharāṣī* and *Kedāra rāṣī* and in *Amarekhara Temple Ins* they have *Supūjitarāṣī*, *Vnekarāṣī* The *Bheraghat Ins* of *Alharadevi* mentions a Paśupata ascetic *Vyomaraṣī* of *Lāṭa* lineage For Kālāmukhas see *Bhandarkar*, p. 171

² Bhāva Vālmiki belonged to *Pranāma gotra* (EI, XXV, 183) while Bhāva brahma and Bhāva teja (I A, XVIII, 210 ff) Bhāvarakta and Bhāvodyota (EI, II, pp. 122-23) were ascetics of *Ananta gotra*

³ The *Cintra Praśasti* (EI, I, p. 284)

⁴ मुण्डगुप्तलिव पाशुपताचार्य पर्षदि (परिषदि)

⁵ P & T O C, 1919, Poona, 319 ff

⁶ अथ ये चाप्ये ह वया वपायकुण्डलिन वपायिन । VI, *Maṭṛāyami Upaniṣad*

⁷ *Śiva Purāṇa*, *Vaṇavāya Samhitā*, XXIX

⁸ It depicts revelry of an innocent Kāpālika whose *lapāla* was taken away by a dog

⁹ Aghoraghaṇṭa and Kapāla kundalā are the Kapālika characters in the play

¹⁰ I, V 23

chandrodaya,¹ the *Chāṇḍa-kaushika*² etc. The *Śrībhāṣya*³ of Rāmānuja furnishes interesting facts regarding their religious practices. The *Lalita-vistara*⁴ states that the bearing of *kapāla* was regarded as a purificatory act by the hetrodox persons.

A. *Mahā-Vrata-Dhara* :

The *Tilakavādā CP.* of the reign of Bhoja 1130 V.S. describes an ascetic Dinakara who was *mahā-vrata-dhara* and was like Śiva in the form⁵ of Kapālin. A grant was sanctioned by Nāgavardhana, the nephew of Pulakeśi II for the worship of god Kapāleśvara and the maintenance of *mahāvratins* attached to the temple.⁶ An inscription from Ramnad Dist. (Madras) of the reign of Vira Pāṇḍya mentions a monastery of the *mahāvratins*.⁷

Mahāvrata in Literature :—This sect occurs in *Śiva Purāṇa*, *Shaddarśana-samuchchaya*, *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*,⁸ *Yaśastilaka-champu*⁹ and *Nala-champu*.¹⁰

(a) Identification :—

(i) *Mahā-Vratins and Kālāmukhas* :—The *Śiva-Purāṇa* mentions *mahā-vrata-dharas* in place of the *Kālānānas* and hence R. G. Bhandarkar regards them as identical.¹¹ The *Nala-champu* of Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa composed in tenth century A.D. des-

¹ Act III introduces a Kāpālīka who holds a debate with a Jain monk and a Buddhist *bhikṣu*.

² In the IV act *Dharma* appears in the form of a Kāpālīka.

³ Rāmānuja (II. 2-35) and Yāmunāchārya both quote the following verses :—

यथाहुः कापालाः

मुद्रिकाषट्कतत्वज्ञः परममुद्राविशारदः । भगासनस्थमात्मानं ध्यात्वा निर्वाणमृच्छति ।

कंठिका रुचकं चैव कुण्डलं च शिखामणिः । भस्म यज्ञोपवीतं च मुद्राषट्कं प्रचक्षते ॥

⁴ कपालखट्वांगधारणैश्च शुद्धिं प्रत्यवगच्छन्ति संमूढाः XVII,

⁵ उदकग्राहकः तत्र महाव्रतधरो मुनिः । दिनकरो नाम यः साक्षात्कपालीव सं(शं)करः ॥

P & T. O. C. 1919, Poona, p. 319.

⁶ JBBRAS., XIV, p. 26. Bhandarkar, p. 168.

⁷ Handiqui: *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, p. 359.

⁸ 5. 2. 81. describes a *mahāvratin* as bearing a *kapāla*.

¹⁰ I. 115.

p. 164.

¹¹ Bhandarkar, p. 168. He is indecisive. See also *supra* p. 4 fn. 1,

cribes Kālāmukhas as falling under the class of the *mahā-vratikas* ¹

- (ii) *Mahā Vratins and Kāpālikas* —But there is overwhelming evidence in favour of their identification with the Kāpālikas. The *Tīlakaṭāḍa* ² CP describes a mahā vratin as Śankara in kapāli form. The above mentioned Chālukya grant was sanctioned for the shrine of Kapāleśvara and mahā vratika ascetics ³ attached to it. Rajaśekhara enumerates the mahā vratī sect along with the Kālāmukha and in place of the Kāpālika school ⁴. Jagaddhara in his commentary explains the Kāpālika vrata as mahā vratī ⁵. Kathā sarit sāgara ⁶ describes a mahā vratika as Kāpālika. *Matta vilāsa* contains a verse in which a Kāpālika describes Śiva as undergoing mahā-vrata ⁷. Chandapāla explains mahā vrata in the commentary of the *Nala-champū* as Kāpālika ⁸ vrata.

Thus, it is certain that the mahā vratikas were identical with Kāpālikas. As Kāpālikas were associated in literature with Kālāmukhas because of certain common practices, Mahā vratikas were sometimes confused with Kālānānas.

(b) *Vrata and Mahā Vrata* —Gondopharnes is one of those early foreign rulers on whose coins Śiva appears. It is, therefore, significant that on most of the coins he bears the title *deva vrata* where 'deva' is evidently used in the sense of Śiva. The *Bhāgavata* mentions ascetics who had taken *bhava vrata* and describes them as wearing bones (skulls) besmearing ashes on body and having matted ⁹ hair. The description tallies with Kāpālika.

¹ कलियुगं शिवशामनस्यतिमिव महाव्रतिवान्तपातिमि बालमुखैर्वानरैः
सकुलामनेकवाभिन्नस्रोतस च p 164.

² महाव्रतधरो मुनि । दिनवरो नाम य साक्षात्पानीय स (श) वर ॥
P & T O C, Poona, p 319

³ JBRRAS, XIV, p 26

⁴ दैवा पाशुपताश्चैव महाव्रतधरास्तथा ।
तुर्या कालमुखा मुख्या भद्रा एते तपस्विनाम् ॥ p 12

⁵ Bhandarkar, p 183

⁶ 5 2 81

⁷ आस्थाय प्रयता महाव्रतमिदं बालेन्दुचूडामणि
स्वामी नो मुमुचे पितामहशिरच्छेदोद्भवादेनस । १७

⁸ P 164 *Nirṇayasagara Edition*

⁹ भवव्रतधरा ये च ता समनुव्रता, पाखण्डिनस्ते भवन्तु सच्छास्त्रपरिपथिन ।
नष्टशोचा मूढधियो जटाभस्मास्थिधारिण विशन्ति शिवदीक्षाया यत्र दैव सुरासवम् ॥
Bhāgavata, 8 2

ascetics. The tradition of *vrata*, therefore, may be traced to the beginning of Christian era.

B. Kāpālīka and Śivaśāsana :

The *Malkāpuram Ins. of Rudradeva* mentions Śivaśāsana probably in the sense of the Kāpālīka.¹ The *Prabodha-chandrodaya* describes the Kāpālīka faith as *Pārameśvara-Siddhānta* which seems to be the same as Śivaśāsana initiated by Śrī Kanṭha.² The *Śābara Tantra* mentions Śrī Kanṭha as one of the original twelve āchāryas. This may indicate that it was the original Pāśupata school started by Śrī Kanṭha. The *Varāha Purāṇa* also narrates that the Pāśupata doctrine was originally given to Kāpālīkas.³

But Śivaśāsana revealed by Śrī Kanṭha was different from the Kāpālīka faith. According to a tradition enshrined in the *Tantrāloka*,⁴ school which maintains unity-in-diversity was started by Śrīnātha the mind-born son of Śrī Kanṭha. This unity-cum-diversity (*bhedābheda*) school is same as the Kāpālīka faith. Śrīnātha is mentioned as originator of the Kāpālīka school in the *Śābara Tantra*⁵ also while Śrī Kanṭha is regarded only a teacher besides him.

The above discussion would indicate that the Kāpālīka school during this period was sometimes identified with *Śivaśāsana*.

C. Kāpālīkas and Śiva :

Śaivāgamas quoted by Rao state that the Kāpālīkas worship Śiva

¹ उपेयुषां शैवतपोधनानां कालाननानां शिवशासनानाम् ।

विद्यार्थिनां पाशुपतव्रतानामप्यन्नवस्त्रादिसमर्पणाय ॥ *JAHS*, IV, 145 ff.

The four important schools mentioned by Rāmānuja, Yāmunaāchārya etc (*supra* p. 3) were four -(i) Śaiva, (ii) Pāśupata, (iii) Kālānana and (iv) Kāpālīka. The first three schools are identical with (i) Śaiva ascetics, (ii) Kālānana and (iii) persons having Pāśupata vow-mentioned in the inscription. The remaining Śivaśāsana, therefore, seems to be identical with the Kāpālīkas.

² अहो पुण्यं कापालिकचरितमहो श्लाघ्यः सोमसिद्धान्तः ।

प्रविष्टाः स्म पारमेश्वरं सिद्धान्तं । प्रवेशय मां पारमेश्वरीं दीक्षाम् ।

Jayaratha, the commentator of the *Tantrāloka* (I, p. 73) states

पारमेश्वरतन्त्रे “शिवशासने” इति पञ्चस्रोतोरूपे पारमेश्वरदर्शनं इत्यर्थः ।

³ *EHI*, II, I. *Intro.* pp. 1-3.

⁴ *Supra* p. 5.

⁵ Dwivedi: *Nātha Sampradāya*, p. 4.

wearing a garland of bones¹ The *Mahāvratadhāras* mentioned in the Chalukya inscriptions were attached to the Kapāleśvara temple The Kapāleśvara form of Śiva is mentioned in the *Nirmanda OP of Śarvavarmman*² The *Prabandha chandrodaya*³ describes the worship of *mahā bhairava* by the Kāpālika

The terrific aspect of Śiva in the form of *mahā bhairava* was thus worshipped by the Kāpālika

Inscriptions do not give any information regarding their religious practices

III SOMASIDDHĀNTA

This school is mentioned in the *Prabhāsapātana Ins of Kumārapāla Val S*⁴ 850=1169 A D, the *Verāvala Ins of Bhīma II*⁵ and the *Chhatra chandēvara (Nepal) Ins of Jishnugupta*⁶

This cult seems to be quite influential in ancient times although no literature of this school is available now It occurs in *tantras* and *Purānas* as quoted by *Īśāna śiva-guru-paddhati*,⁷ *Tantrādhikāra nīrnaya*,⁸ *Vīramītrodaya*⁹ and *Darśana kanikā samgraha*¹⁰ The *Prabandha chandrodaya* also gives some interesting information The *Bhāṣhyachandra*¹¹ of Raghūttama

¹ EHI, II, I, Intr p 29

² CH, III, pp 286-91

³ Act, III, V 13

⁴ BI, pp 186-187

⁵ Ibid, p 208 ff

⁶ IA, IX, p 174

⁷ वा (ला) कुल सोमतन्त्र च जगाद परमेस्वर । ISG, III, p 6

⁸ Chakravartī The *Some or Sauma Sect of the Śaivas*, IHQ, VIII, p 220 *Tantrādhikāra nīrnaya* (p 2 of Rājaraṣeśvari Press, Benaras) attributes the following verse to *Vasīṣṭha* and *Linga-Purānas* -

केचिल्लोवायत ब्रह्मन् वेचित् सोम महामुने ।

नाकुल वेचिदिच्छन्ति तथा वेचित् भैरवम् ॥

while it (p 13) quotes from *Sūtasamhita* -

कापाल नाकुल चैव तयोर्भेदान् द्विजपंभा ।

तथा पाशुपत सोम भैरवप्रमुखागमान् ॥

⁹ *Vīramītrodaya* (I, p 22) as quoted from the *Kurma purāna*

वाम पाशुपत सोम लागल चैव भैरवम् । न सेव्यमेतत् कथित वेदवाह्य तथेतरम् ।

¹⁰ ननु सोम कामात्मवादी । तदपि भारते परमात्मस्रोते तस्मै कामात्मने नम ॥

Quoted by *Chakravartī*, (IHQ, VIII, p 221)

from a manuscript

¹¹ P 30 (*Nīrnaya Sagara* edition),

and the Akulavīra-tantra¹ of Matsyendranātha make a passing reference to it. Information of exceptional interest, however, comes from the Chinese texts on logic.²

Stories regarding *Soma* of inscriptions and *Somaśarmma* of the *Purāṇas* who are credited with the founding of a Śaiva school at Prabhāsa seem to be the two versions of the same tradition. It may also be noted that *Somaśarmma* is described as the preceptor of Akshapāda, the founder of Nyāya system and Kaṇāda the originator of Vaiśeṣhika system. Thus, he is associated with logic also. The Naya-soma school of logic whose existence is disclosed by the Chinese texts and which was fore-runner of the Akshapāda system might have been named after him. Thus, there is a great possibility of *Soma* being a historical figure who founded a Śaiva school of devotion and a *nyāya* school of thought before Akshapāda who has been placed variously in fourth, third and second century A.D. Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa,³ however, places him in 150 A.D. and this seems to be the most plausible date. The *Soma* school, therefore, might have been originated before second century A.D.

1. *Founder of the Cult*:—The *Prabhāsa Pāṭana Ins.* records that *Soma* (moon) had constructed a golden temple of *Somanātha* at Prabhāsa and after originating his cult at the instance of Śiva gave the place to the Pāśupatas.⁴ The *Purāṇas* state that Śiva incarnated himself at Prabhāsa as *Somaśarmma* who had four disciples—(i) Akshapāda, the founder of Nyāya school, (ii) Kaṇāda, the founder of Vaiśeṣhika school, (iii) Ulūka, a teacher of logic sometimes identified with Kaṇāda and (iv) Vatsa.⁵ The

¹ सम्वादयन्ति ये केचिन् न्यायवैशेषिकास्तथा ।

बौद्धास्तु अरिहन्ता ये सोमसिद्धान्तवादिनः ॥७॥ *Kaṇḍajñāna-nirṇaya*, p. 84.

² Pre-Diñnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources—XXVIII—XXIX.

³ The Japanese scholar H. Ui places him between fourth and second century A.D. while Prof. L. Suali dates him in C. 300-350 A.D. *History of Indian Logic*, p. 50 fn.

⁴ सोमः सोऽस्तु जयी स्मरांगदहनो यं निर्म्मलं निर्म्ममे ।

गौर्याः शापबलेन वै कृतयुगे दृश्यत्वमोपेयुषां ।

प्रादात्पाशुपतार्थसाधुसुधियां यः स्थानमेतत्स्वयं ।

कृत्वा स्वामय पद्धतिं शशिभृतो देवस्य तस्याज्ञया ॥३॥ *BI*, pp. 186-187.

⁵ सप्तविंशो यदा व्यासो जातूकर्ण्यो भविष्यति ।

प्रभासतीर्थमाश्रित्य सोमशर्मा तदाप्यहम् ॥४१॥

तत्रापि मम ते शिष्याः भविष्यन्ति तपस्विनः ।

अक्षपादः कणादश्चोलूको वत्सस्तथैव च ॥४२॥ *Vāyaviya Samhitā*, Ch. V.

Chinese sources disclose the existence of a school in logic called *Na ya su-mo* i.e., *Nayasoma*. Prof. Tucci notes influence of this school on the *Gautama Sūtras* as known to the Chinese writers.¹ The word *Naya Soma* evidently means 'school of Nyaya associated with Soma'. It is further to be noted that both schools of logic—Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika are affiliated with Śaivism.

2 *Kapālīka faith and Somasiddhānta* —The *Prabandha-chandrodaya* identifies Kāpālīkas and Soma Siddhāntins.² *Chhatra chandēśvara Ins*³ records them in association with the Kāpālīkas. Tantric literature, however, mentions them as two different schools.⁴

3 *Somasiddhānta in Early Mediaeval Age* —The *Verāvala Ins of Bhīma II* records that the creed propagated by Soma declined in due course and thereafter Viśveśvara rāṣi, a partial incarnation of Śiva obtained instructions in dream to revive the doctrine.⁵ He, therefore, in the beginning of thirteenth century made vigorous attempts for the propagation of Somasiddhānta.

A Its Prevalence

During this period, Somasiddhānta was prevalent in Nepal and Gujrat.

4 *Somasiddhānta and 'Chandraśekhara Mūrti'* —The *Verāvala Ins. of Bhīma II* which records the architectural activities of Viśveśvara for reviving the Soma creed, begins with an invocation to Śiva who was as if *rasāyana* for moon.⁶ The *Prabodha chandrodaya* states that liberated souls, according to this school, assume the form of *Chandraśekhara* embraced by consorts as beautiful as Pārvatī.⁷ It seems that the *Umā sahita chandraśekhara* form was specially worshipped by ascetics of this school.

¹ Tucci, *loc cit*

² अहो पुण्य कापालिकचरितमहो दलाध्य सोमसिद्धान्त । *Thud Act*, p 119
The Kapālīka is introduced in the play as-
तत प्रविशति कापालिकरूपधारी सोमसिद्धान्त ।

³ मुण्डशूलिक पाशुपताचार्य पर्वदिसोमसङ्गुवानाच *IA, IX, 174*
"Khadduka occurs on other inscriptions as a name of certain priest of Śiva"

⁴ कपाल नाकुल चैव तयोर्भेदान् द्विजर्षभा ।
तथा पाशुपत सोम भैरवप्रमुखागमान् ॥ *Tantradhikāra nirṇaya*, p 2

⁵ *BI*, p 209 10, VV 18 19

⁶ प्रालेयाशुवपुरसायनमसौ श्रेयासि सोमेश्वर । *BI*, 208

⁷ पार्वत्या . प्रतिरूपया दयितया सानदमालिगितो ।

मुक्त क्रीडति चन्द्रचूडवपुर्द्विषूचे मृडानीपति ॥१६॥ *Act III*

IV. SIDDHA SCHOOL

The Rewa Ins. of Malayasimha mentions the Siddhas as ascetics and records that Malayasimha was a *Siddhārtha-yogi*.¹ The inscription peculiarly begins with an invocation to Mañjughosha—an originally Buddhist god of learning and extols the worship of Rāma.

“An *avadhūta* by name Śrīmitra flourished in the line of *sambuddha-siddha*” is mentioned in the *Bodha-gayā Ins. of the time of Jayachandra*.² Śrīmitra has been further described “as the initiating preceptor (*dīkshā-guru*) of the king of Kāśī i.e. Jayachandra.”³ It may be recalled here that a *MS. of Jayadratha-yāmala* was copied by Jomadeva who was a disciple of the Kulāchārya Śrī-Dharaṇipāda, the preceptor of the king Jayachandra.⁴

A. Siddha School in Literature :

The *Siddha-siddhānta-saṅgraha*⁵ mentions a Siddha school which is identical with the *avadhūta* and the Nātha sect. The *avadhūtas* are mentioned in the *Bhāgavata*. The creed of eighty-four Siddhas had become quite influential from eleventh-twelfth century A.D.

2. PANTHEON

A. Goraksha :

He is one of the most important Siddhas. *The Cintrā Praśasti of Śārṅgadeva* mentions him as a member of the Pāsupata pentad. This would indicate the influence of the Siddhas over the Lākuliśa Pāsupata⁶ sect.

¹ सिद्धार्थयोगी मलयानुसिंहः । V. 12. *MA SI*, XXIII, pp

² सम्बुद्धसिद्धान्वयवुर्यभूतः श्रीमित्रनामा परमावधूतः ॥४॥ *IHQ*. V, 14 ff, *Sambuddha-siddha* may be compared with the following verse of the नमस्चौरंगिनाथाय सिद्धबुद्धाय धीमते ॥१॥ *Siddha-siddhānta-paddhati*, p. 48.

³ V. 11.

⁴ Bagchi : *Studies in the Tantras*, p. 114.

महाराजाधिराज श्रीमज्जयचन्द्र-देवपूजितस्य कुलाचार्य्य श्री धरणीपादेव नामधेयस्य ।

⁵ The Nātha-Yogi literature always mentions the school as Siddha-school. Thus the *Siddha-siddhānta-paddhati* of Goraksha mentions the *Siddha-mata* at several places (e.g. p.1. v. 3.) The following verse (p. 39) differentiates the *Siddha-mata* from other Śaiva sects :-

शैवाः पाशुपता महाव्रतधराः कालामुखा जंगमाः ।
शाक्ताः कौलकुलाः कुलार्चनरताः कापालिकाः शाम्भवाः ॥
एते कृत्रिममंत्रतंत्रनिरतास्ते तत्त्वतौ वंचिताः ।
तस्मात्सिद्धमतं स्वभावसमयं धीरः सदा संश्रयेत् ॥

⁶ *EI*, I, p. 284, v. 46.

B. *Rāma in the Siddha School :*

The *Rewa Ins. of Malayasimha*, the *Siddhārtha-yogi* peculiarly states that "the Siddhas go to high heaven, having performed painful austerities, (but) those, who worship at the shrine of Rāma built by him, obtain the *Viśvapada* (without endeavour)." From literature we learn that the Siddhas were Śiva-Śakti worshippers and hence the building of shrine for Rāma by the Siddhārtha-yogi is rather striking.

C. *Rāma in Tāntric and Siddha Literatures :*

The *Tantrāloka*¹ mentions Rāma as Śiva, the highest reality. The commentator Jayaratha explains Rāma as the form of Śiva which pervades in the whole universe. *Triśirā-Bhairava* as quoted by Jayaratha enumerates fourteen kinds of Rāma.

Rāma is frequently mentioned in the later Siddha literature.

D. *Mañjughosha :*

The Buddhist deity is invoked in the beginning of the *Rewa Inscription*. There is some evidence that he was also accepted in the Siddha school as a deity.

V. KAULA SCHOOL

The *Harsha Stone Ins. of the Chāhamāna*² *Vigrahapāla* V.S. 1030 mentions a sect—*Sāmsārika-kula* which was originated at the village Rāṇa-pallikā near the Harsha Mt. in Shekhāvati Dist. of Jeypur State in Rāja-pūtanā. The name of the sect indicates that it was associated with the *Kula* school.

The originator of this branch of the *Kula* school was the ascetic Allāṭa³ or Bhāvarakta who was a disciple of the Pāśupata ascetic Viśvarūpa belonging

¹ तीव्रं तपो दुःखकरं प्रकृत्या सिद्धा व्रजन्तो दिवमूर्ध्वमुच्चैः ।

यद् (यै.) रामदेवालयवाधिः (मर्च्चि) ता ये प्रायेण ते विश्वपदं प्रयाताः ॥२७॥

The line is rather corrupt.

² एष रामो व्यापकोऽत्र शिवः परम-कारणम् ॥४४॥

Commenting upon it, Jayaratha says :-

एष रामः सकलविश्वावभासनपरः क्रीडापरः परमात्मा परमेश्वरः ।

Tantrāloka, I, p. 136.

³ हर्षस्यासन्नतोग्राम. प्रसिद्धो राणपल्लिका ।

सांसारिककुलाम्नायस्ततो यस्य विनिर्गमः ॥३१॥ *EI*, II. 116 ff

to the Pañchārthika school of the Pāśupatas.¹ The inscription indicates very close relation between the Pāśupatas and the Kaulas. This is further confirmed by the fact that Goraksha, the disciple of the Kaula preceptor Matsyendra, was recognised in the Pāśupata fold. Further, the tradition of the *Siddhayogīśvarī* school is described to have been continued through Lakulīśa by his disciple Ananta and his disciple Gahanēśa or Gahanādhīpa.² (Is he identical with Gahanīnātha mentioned as an ascetic in the Siddha school?) It may be noted that Viśvarūpa belonged to the *Ananta gotra*.

VI. KĀLĀNANAS

The Kālānana sect has not been mentioned in inscriptions of Northern India. The sect was, however, very influential in south. It had several important centres under the Chālukyas. Kālāmukha ascetics also served as *rājagurus* of the Chālukya kings.³

VII. THE ŚAIVA SIDDHĀNTA SCHOOL

1. HISTORY

A. *The Founder : Guhāvāsī :—The Gurgi Ins. of Prabodha-śiva* C. 973 A.D. records that the faultless *Saiva-siddhānta* doctrine was preached by the ascetic who was head of the line to which Prabodha-śiva belonged.⁴ *The Ranod Ins. of Vyomaśiva* further describes that this line of ascetics came into existence as a blessing from Śiva to Brahmā who performed a

¹ पंचार्थलाकुलाम्नाये विश्वरूपोऽभवद्गुरुः ॥२८॥
दीक्षाजातमलध्वंस—विस्फुरज्ञाननिर्मलः ।
प्रशस्ताख्यो भवच्छिष्यस्तस्य पाशुपतः कृती ॥२९॥
भावरक्तोऽभवत्तस्य शिष्यो द्विनामतोऽल्लटः ॥३०॥ *Ibid.*

² यदागमः
भैरवाद्भैरवीं प्राप्तं सिद्धयोगीश्वरीमतम् ।
ततः स्वच्छन्ददेवेन स्वच्छन्दालाकुलेन तु ॥
लकुलीशादनन्तेन अनन्ताद्गाहनाधिपम् । *Tantrāloka*, XII, p. 383.

³ *Eastern Chālukyas*, p. 167, see also Haṇḍiqui: *Yasastilaka-champu and Indian Culture*, pp. 348 ff.
El, XXIII, p. 161 ff.

⁴ पूर्वे यत्रावतीर्य विरतनियतमनोभवत्तापसेन्द्रः ।
शिष्यानामाशशंसुः शिवमतमतनुव्यस्तनिः शेषदोषम् ॥४॥

sacrifice at *Dāruvana*¹ Head of the line was *Guhāvāsī* as mentioned in several inscriptions Thus, these inscriptions mention *Guhāvāsī* of *Daru vana* as the preacher of Śaiva siddhānta doctrine

The association of *Guhāvāsī* with *Dāruvana* is mentioned in the *Purānas* and inscriptions The *Skanda Purāna*² describes the holy place of *Dāruvana* where Śiva incarnated himself as *Guhāvāsī* and allured the wives of ascetics in the *Bhikshā nata* form The story occurs in the *Linga purāna*³ also The *Halāyudha stotra*⁴ as inscribed in the Amareśvara temple before 1120 V S also refers to the incarnation of Śiva at *Daru vana* as a beggar (*bhikshā nata*)

It may further be noted that one of the twenty eight incarnations of Śiva mentioned in *Linga Vāyu* and *Kurma-purānas* was *Guhāvāsī*⁵ In *Bhikshā nata* form *Guhāvāsī* is represented in sculptures

Guhāvāsī who promulgated the doctrine of Śaiva siddhānta school seems to have been held as an incarnation of Śiva like Lakulīśa the originator of the *Lakulīśa Pāsupata* doctrine

(i) *The tradition of Duvāsū-Amarddaka as originator* —The *Tantrā loka*⁶ records the tradition that this dualist Śaiva school was started by

¹ भक्त्योपसन्न स्थिरभक्तिगम्य पद्मासन दाहवनेतिरम्ये ।

विधाय यज्ञ विधिना विधिज्ञ विलानुजग्राह पुरा पुरारि ॥६॥

यच्छल्फलम्बिपुलनिवृत्तिवोजमुच्चं पूर्वोत्तर विपुलवर्द्धितभूरिगाय ।

तस्मादपूर्वं उदभून्मुनिवश एव निर्गन्धिरन्तरितसारतरोस्तरन्ध्र ॥७॥

तस्मिन्मुनि सवल्लोवनमस्यमूर्तिरिन्दूपम प्रतिदिन समुदीयमान ।

श्रीमानभूद्भुवि वदम्ब (म्ब) गुहाधिवासी ॥८॥ EI, I, pp 354 ff

² ततो गच्छेच्च राजेद्र गुहावासीति चोत्तमम् ।

यत्र सिद्धो महादेवो गुहावासीति शवर ॥

युधिष्ठिर उवाच

केन वार्येण विप्रेन्द्र गुहावासीति शवर ।

³ पूर्वं दाहवने विप्रा वसन्ति च सुरैस्समा

⁴ दाहवने द्विजवरवधूपल्लवो रेतसाग्री

होम सन्ध्यानटनमिति ते चेष्टित नैव दुष्टम् ॥३४॥

EI, XXV, p 175

⁵ गोकर्णं गुहावासी शिखण्डी चापर स्मृत ।

⁶ तानि बलिबालुष्यात् उपदेष्टुं नपरम्परान्तर्धानवशात् विच्छिन्नसचाराणि व्यनश्यन् ।

इत्य व्युच्छिन्ने शिवशासने वदाचित् कैलासगिरी परिभ्रमन श्रीकण्ठ मूर्ति शिवो विच्छिन्नस्य निखिलशैवशास्त्रोपनिषत्सारभूतस्य पङ्कथक्रमविज्ञानस्य प्रचारार्थं दुर्वासस मुनिमाजिज्ञप्तम् । स मुनि मानसान् सिद्धान् त्रयम्बक-आमर्दक श्रीनाथाख्यान् अद्वय-द्वय द्वयाद्वयमतव्याख्यातृन् मठिकासु सत्सम्प्रदायमार्गं प्रचारयितुं न्युक्त ।

Āmarddaka. The Śaiva schools of philosophy disappeared because of Kali age. Śiva, therefore, took pity on men engrossed in spiritual darkness and commanded Durvāsā to preach the doctrine. The sage, thereupon, created three mind-born sons—*Tryambaka*, *Āmarddaka* and *Srīnatha* who respectively promulgated the Non-dualist (*Trika*), Dualist (*Śaiva*) and Dualist-non-dualist schools (*maṭha*) of philosophy.

This tradition recurs in many *tāntric* works where Durvāsā is represented as the founder of the *Āmarddaka-maṭha*.¹

(ii) *Durvāsā Line and Āmarddaka-maṭha* :—The *Malkapuram*² Ins. of *Rudradeva* describes Viśveśvara-śambhu as belonging to the line of Durvāsā through Sadbhāva-śambhu of Dāhala region. Sadbhāva-śambhu, however, belonged to the line of Guhāvāsī. It is strange that no person by name Durvāsā recorded to have flourished in this line from Guhāvāsī to Viśveśvara-śambhu and yet the line was named after Durvāsā.

Tāntric works as mentioned above allude to the tradition that the *Āmarddaka-maṭha* was founded by Durvāsā.

Tantrāloka also describes the founding of the non-dualist school (*maṭha*) by Āmarddaka at the instance of Durvāsā. In the Guhāvāsī line three main branches sprung forth—(a) *Āmarddaka-maṭha*, (b) *Mattamayūra* and (c) *Mādhumateya* respectively founded by *Āmarddaka-tīrthanātha*, Rudra-śambhu, *Mattamayura-nātha* Purandara and Pavanaśiva. This *Āmarddaka* branch (*maṭha*) is mentioned in the Rāshtrakuta³ and Prathihāra⁴ inscriptions. Visveśvara-śambhū⁵ also belonged to this branch founded by Rudra-śambhu at the instance of Durvāsā (as noted by *Tantrāloka*) and this is the only explanation for describing him as belonging to the line of Durvāsā.

Thus, the joint evidence of inscriptions and literature would prove that Guhāvāsī originated the dualist Śaiva school of philosophy which was systematised and spread by Āmarddakatīrtha-nātha or Rudra-śambhu.

¹ *Hultzsch, Report on Skt. MSS., II, Intr. p. XVI ff. Cat. Catalo. I. p. 257; II. p. 55 etc.*

² अस्ति विश्वम्भरासारः कमलाकुलमन्दिरम् ।
भागीरथी नर्मदयोर्मध्यं डहलमण्डलम् ॥
नीत्वा कालमनन्तमन्तकजयी सद्भावशम्भुःगुरु
दुर्व्वासोन्वय सम्भवस्सुचरितः

JAHSR, IV, pp. 147 ff.

³ *EI, III, 263-267., EI, IV, 286.*

⁴ श्रीमदामर्दकसन्तानीय श्रीशिवदेवाचार्यसुतश्रीमहेश्वराचार्याय
Haddal Grant of the time of Mahipāla Pratihāra, IA, XII, p. 193ff.

⁵ *JAHSR, IV, 147 ff.*

(iii) *Dates of Rudra Śambhu and Guhāvāsī* —The Chandrehe Ins of Prabodha śiva is dated in K S 724=973 A D Prabodha śiva is twelfth from Guhāvāsī and hence taking twenty five years for one generation Guhāvāsī may be placed in c 675 A D and Rudra-śambhu in c 775 A D

B *Diffusion and spread of the Sect* —The sect spread from the Punjab in the north to Tamil region in the south and influenced several kings of this period

(a) *Āmarddaka matha and Durvāsā Line* —Rudra śambhu or Āmar ddakatīrthanātha founded the matha whose disciples (*santāna*) spread in the Rājputana, Karahat and Karnātaka The Rajore Ins ¹ of Mathanadera of the time Vināyaka-pāla Pratihāra V S 1016=959 A D mentions Omkāra śiva, Rūpaśiva and Srikantha as the āchāryas of the Āmarddaka-matha belonging to the Soparīya line Another line termed Karanjakheta santati is found in the Karahāṭa area The Karhad CP of Krishna III S 880 records a grant to Ganganaśiva, a great ascetic versed in the whole Śiva-siddhānta (philosophy), the pupil of Iśanaśiva head, of Valkalesvara matha ² This ascetic Gaganaśiva was the spiritual teacher of the Alūpa king Dattalpendra Śrīmāra as known from the Mudukhāri (Someśvara Temple) Ins cription ³ Here he has been described as belonging to the line of Durvāsā

C *Golakī matha* —Sadbhāva Śambhu same as Prabhava śiva in the line of the Āmarddaka tīrtha nātha established the tradition of the Golakī Maṭha The tradition flourished in the Telgu and Tamil area

(a) *Telgu Region* —The Pushpagiri⁴ (Kurnool District) Ins mentions Golakī Maṭha The four Tripurantaka⁵ (Kurnool Dist) Inscriptions mention Santa śiva, Dharma śiva, Vimala śiva and Viśveśvara śiva of

¹ श्रीमदामर्दक विनिर्गत श्रीसोपुदीयसतत्या श्रीछत्रशिव.....

श्रीश्रीकण्ठाचार्यशिष्य श्रीरूपशिवाचार्यस्तच्छिष्य श्रीमदोकारशिवाचार्यस्यास्खलित
ब्रह्मचर्यावाप्त महिम्न इत्यादि १३-१५

EI, III, 263 267.

² करहादीयवल्लेस्वरस्यानपति करजसेटसन्तति विनिर्गन्तेशानशिवाचार्यशिष्याय
महातपस्विने सकलशिवसिद्धान्तपारगाय गगनशिवाय इत्यादि ६०-६१

EI, IV, 286

³ The inscription is in Kannada The relevant portion runs as follows -
श्रीमतु दुर्वाससुमुनीन्द्रवशतिलक य सन्तति सजातरूप श्रीमद्गगनशिवाचार्यरिगे
दत्तालपेन्द्र श्रीमार ओडुम इत्यादि

SII, VII, No 134, p 165

⁴ 323 of 1905

⁵ 195, 223, 273, and 323 of 1905

the Golakī Maṭha. *The Alugurajupalle*¹ (Palnad Talukā, Guntur Dist.) Stone Ins. of the Kākāṭīya king Ganapati Deva also refers to a Golakī monastery.

(b) *Tamil Region* :—Inscriptions of Jaṭāvarmman Tribhuvana Chakravartin Vīra Pandya Deva contain references to Puragali Perumala belonging to the line of Jnānāmṛtāchārya of Hīlāhi² (Golakī maṭha) and Aghoradeva of Jnānāmṛtāchārya-santāna of Golakī Maṭha.³ A late inscription describes the head of a maṭha as Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalādhipati alias Lakshādhyāyī-santāna of the Golakī Maṭha.⁴ The Krishṇa Golakī Maṭha is mentioned in the *Tinivarur (Tanjore dist.) Inscription*.⁵

The Malkapuram Ins. of the Kākāṭīya Rudradeva S. 1183. however, is of outstanding importance. *Viśveśvara-śambhu* the founder of the *Viśveśvara-golakī maṭha* was the spiritual father of the King Gaṇapati (1213-1249 A.D.) of Warangale. The inscription describes in detail the philanthropic activities of the *Golakī Maṭha*.⁶

D. *Mattamayūra Lineage* :—The fifth ascetic in the line was Purandara who initiated the prince Avantivarmman in the faith. The king dedicated his kingdom to his spiritual preceptor as an honorarium where the ascetic founded a monastery at *Mattamayūra*⁷ town.

(a) *The Monastery of Mattamayūra* :—Prof. Mirashi has identified⁸ *mattamayūra* town with Kadawahā as it “possesses remains of a Hindu monastery” and because “it is not far from Terahi, Ranod and Mahua”. The identification, however, is not plausible.

Inscriptions clearly indicate that Mattamayūra town or the kingdom of Avantivarmman was far away from the place where Purandara was

¹ 289 of 1930-31.

² 359 of 1916.

³ 362 of 1916.

⁴ 213 of 1924.

⁵ *Ep. Rep. of the S. Circle* for 1910 p. 97. *Iśanaśiva, Pāṇḍitanattu Pandi-tamaṇḍalādhipati* alias *Lakshādhyāyīsantāna* finds mention in *Tinumala-ināḍu* of S. S. 1452 1530—1 A.D. (193 of 1924) *Ep. Rep. of the S. Circle* for 1924, p. 114.

⁶ *JAHRS*, IV. p. 147 ff.

⁷ *EI*, I, p. 259, V. 49; see also p. 355 vv. 11-13.

⁸ *IHQ*, 1950, p. 9.

performing his austerities and, therefore, the place should not be located in Malavā¹

Inscriptions further indicate that the town of Mattamayūra was in the kingdom of Avantivarman who must have flourished in the beginning of ninth century A D History is unaware of any prince of this name in ninth century A D Kielhorn identifies him with Avanivarman of the Chālukya dynasty without any cogent reason Mirashi on the basis of the *Maser Inscription* regards him to be a predecessor of Avanivarman This view, however, involves many difficulties²

¹ The verse in the inscription is -

वन्द्य कोपि चकास्त्यचिन्त्यमहिमा तुल्य मुनिर्भास्वता
राजनोत्तम शब्द (ब्द) पूर्वशिशिराम्यण्मप्रकीर्णद्युति ।
दीक्षार्थीति वचो निशम्य मुकुतीचारीकृतमुर्वोपति
यस्येहानयनाय यत्नमवरोच्छ्रीमानवन्ति पुरा ॥

I shall like to translate it as follows -

"Oh King there is an ascetic of unimaginable splendour, shining like Sun whose fame has spread to far off *Uttama tikhara*"—hearing the words the king illustrious Avanti (Varman) tried to bring the ascetic. This would suggest that the king Avanti got the information of this famous ascetic from a spy and then tried to bring him in his territory

² The genealogy of the Chālukya kings has been constructed by Mirashi as follows -

Avantivarman	A D 825
Avanivarman	A D 850
Sadhanva	A D 875
Simhavarman	A D 900
Narasimha	A D 950
Kesarin	A D 975

The history of the dynasty is given in *the Bihari Ins* (EI, I, p 2)58 is as follows -

अभवदनवनिवर्मा विश्वविख्यातकर्मा ॥३४॥

पितामहो यत्खलु सिंहवर्मा पिता यद्दीरवरस्तपन्व ॥३५॥

Thus, Avanivarman was the son of Sadhanva and grandson of Simhavarman while in Mirashi's table he is shown as grandfather of Simhavarman and father of Sadhanva Thus, Sadhanva was the father and not Avantivarman as shown by the learned scholar Secondly, there is no evidence whatsoever to maintain that Avantivarman belonged to the dynasty of the Chālukyas or Sulḥis.

The *Mahābhārata*¹ locates the *Mattamayūras* in the Punjab near Rohtak. It is interesting to note that in seventh-eighth century A.D. a varmman dynasty was ruling in this area. *The Lakkha Mandala Prasasti of the Queen Isvarā*² of Jālandhara who belonged to the Varmman dynasty of Simhapura was inscribed by Iśvaranāga of Rohtak. Buhler identifies Simhapura with *Seng-ho-pulo* of Huen Tsiang located near Salt Range in the Punjab.³ I would, therefore, like to identify the town *Mattamayūra* in the Punjab in the kingdom of these Varmmans. Avantivarmman might have belonged to this Varmman line.

The Mattamayūra and Ranipadra monasteries sent forth their branches to Mālavā, Karkaroni in Deccan and several places in the modern Madhya Pradesh.

(i) *The Mālavā Branch*:—The *Prāyaśchitta-samuchchaya*⁴ mentions an ascetic Lambakarna of Ranipatra monastery who was the spiritual teacher of the king Siyaka of Mālavā. He has been described as one who heard the whole of the Śaiva-siddhānta philosophy and was like a Śiva on Kailāśa. The *Purānas*⁵ mention Lambakarna as a *bhairava* at Avanti. The ascetic Lambakarna described as Śiva might have been regarded as Bhairava. The line of Lambakarna, continued through Iśvara-śiva whose disciple Hṛidaya-śiva composed the *Prāyaśchitta samuchchaya*.

¹ Sabhāparva. XXXII

² *EI*, I, p. 8.

³ Siyuki, I, pp. 43-44.

⁴ *ISC*, II, *Preface*, p. 1.

मत्तमयूरवंशजे श्रीरणिपत्रलम्बकर्ण इति नाम प्रथितः पृथिव्यां मुनिः ।

निखिलशैवसिद्धान्तश्रोत्रसंस्कारपावनः ।

चन्द्रांकितजटाजूटः कैलासस्येव शंकरः ॥

श्रीरणिपत्रकाश्रमाद् गोरठिकामठे गमात् ॥१॥

धारायां सी (स्वी) यकमिति अनुजग्राह पार्थिवः ॥

आसीत् ततो सन्ततौ मुनिः श्री ईश्वर इति ।

जगतीपतिभिर्नृपैः पूजितपादपंकजः ॥

Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts and Select Palm-Leaf in Durbar Library, p. 215.

⁵ अवन्तौ च महादेवी लम्बकर्णस्तु भैरवः ॥८८॥

The Śākta Pīthas, JRASB, 1948, p. 55.

(ii) *The Deccan Branch* —The donee in the *Kharepatan*¹ CP of *Rattarāja S 930* is Ambhoja śambhu. He flourished in a series of pontiffs of the Karkarom branch of the Mattamayūra line. The *Naimitika kṛyānu sandhana*² was composed by Brahma śambhu of this Karkarom branch in S 960.

(iii) *The Kadwaha Branch* —The Kadwaha Ins of the Chanderi-Pratihara dynasty informs us of Dharma śiva belonging to Ranipadra monastery who was the spiritual teacher of Harirāja Pratihara (c 10th century AD). Another inscription from the same place associates Išvara-śiva with a king Bhīma Bhūpa.

Thus, the ascetics of this branch spread from the Punjab (Salt Range) to Deccan. They wielded considerable influence in Central India. Kings of Varmman dynasty of the Punjab, of Chanderi Pratihāra and Paramāra dynasties in Central India were their spiritual disciples.

E *Mādhumateya Line* —The Mādhumateya monastery was founded by Pavana śiva which sent its branches to Gurgi, Chandreh, Bilhari and elsewhere. Prabhāva śiva to be identified with Sadbhāva śiva was held in veneration by the Kalachuri king Yuvarajadeva I and Lakshmanaraja. The inscription describes the footstool of the ascetic "as being worshipped by the accumulation of the lustre of jewels in the crest of several kings." He was approached by the King of Kuntala.

Another line of Prabhava śiva ran through Somaśambhu whose disciple Vāmaśambhu initiated a line of the *rājagurus* of the Kalachuri kings which continued to the end of the Kalachuri dynasty in Dahala.

The Rājagurus of Kalachuri Kings —The *Malkāpuram Ins of the Kākāthya king Rudradeva* states that Yuvarajadeva gave three lakhs of

¹ श्रीमत्तमयूरान्वयान्तर्गतकर्करोणिस्तान-गुरुप्रमायात सिद्धान्ततत्त्वादिहृतमोहान्धतम-सामातपोमहिमप्रध्वस्ताशेषसगाना प्रबो (वा) घप्रदीपप्रकाशितस्वर्गापवर्गमार्गाणा समाधिजलव्य (व्य) त्रिमुवनवीर्तिना श्रीमदम्भोजशम्भुगुरुणा इत्यादि २-५५

² ISG, II, Preface, p 1

³ *Gwalior Arch Rep V S 1998*, No 6

Gwalior Rājya Ke Abhilekha, No 627, p 85

See also *Bhandarkar's List*, No 2107 for another inscription of the same dynasty

⁴ *Gwalior Rājya Ke Abhilekha*, p 85, No 628

⁵ ते निवसति वनवासे कुन्तलो.....मुनि.

villages in *Dāhala maṇḍala* to Sadbhāva-śambhu who with this princely donation founded a monastery known as Golakī Maṭha.¹ The evidence from Gurgi and Chandrehe inscriptions indicates that Sadbhāva-śambhu was identical with Prabhāva-śiva the disciple of Madhumateya Chūdāśiva.² He was succeeded by Somaśambhu and after him came Vāmaśambhu “whose feet were embellished by the row of crowns of kings and are even now meditated upon by the Kalachuri kings”.³ The statement finds striking epigraphic corroboration as no less than seven kings—Lakshmī-karṇa, Yaśaḥkarṇa, Narasimha, Jayasimha, Vijayasimha, Śankaragaṇa and Trailokyavarmadeva Chandella king who supplanted the Kalachuri dynasty are styled as “meditating upon the feet of Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājadhirāja Parameśvara illustrious Vāmadeva”.⁴ The reason for mentioning the ascetic in this way is known from the commentary by Jonarāja on the Prithvirāja-Vijaya.⁵ He states that the Kalachuri king

¹ नीत्वा कालमनन्तकजयी सद्भावशम्भोर्गुरुर्दुर्वासोन्वय संभवस्सुचरितः प्रावृद्धपुण्यैः
नृपाणाम् ।

शैवानां प्रथमाय शंकरपदध्यानामृताम्भोनिधिकीडाम्ब्रेडनकर्म निम्मलतरस्वान्ताय
शान्तात्मने ।

तस्मै निस्पृहचेतसे कलचुरिक्षमापालचूडामणिग्रामाणां युवराजदेव नृपतिभिक्षा
न्त्रिलक्षीं ददौ ॥

J.A.H.R.S., IV, p. 157.

² *The Chandrehe Ins. of Prabodhasiva* mentions that Prabhāva-śiva made to accept the earth sanctified by the touch of his feet by Yuvarājadeva” Again *the Gurgi Ins. of Prabodhasiva* (EI, XXII, p. 133) records the same fact that Yavarājadeva made Prabhāvasiva to accept a monastery constructed at an enormous cost”. Thus, there cannot be any reasonable doubt in the identity of Sadbhāva-Sambhu and Prabhāva-siva.

³ अथ नृपशेखरमालालितपादोत्रवामशम्भुरभूत् ।

अद्यापि कलचुरीशा यच्चरणाराधकाः प्रशस्यन्ते ॥

⁴ (a) *Banaras CP. of Lakshmīkarṇa* K.S. EI, II, pp. 305 ff.

(b) *Khairha CP. of Yaśaḥkarṇa*, EI, XII, pp. 210 ff.

(c) *Lal Pahad Ins. of Narasimhadeva*, IA, XVIII, pp. 215 ff.

(d) *Rewa CP. of the time of Jayasimha*, IA, XVII, pp. 246 ff.

(e) *Kumbhi CP. of Vijayasimhadeva*, EI, XXXI, p. 116.

(f) *Sagar Ins. of Śankaragana*, EI, XXVI.

(g) *Rewa CP. of Trailokyamalladeva*, EI, XXV, I. ff.

⁵ स्राहसिकस्तपस्विने वामदेवनाम्ने निजराजलक्ष्मीं गुरुदक्षिणायै दत्त्वा सर्वा भूमिं जेतुं
प्रस्थितवान् ॥

Prithvirāja Vijaya, p. 174.

Sāhasika after dedicating his empire to his spiritual preceptor Vāmadeva, proceeded to conquer the whole earth. The king Sāhasika is most probably the king Yuvarājadeva II as shown elsewhere. Since his reign, there is a continued line of the *rājagurus* in succession running from Vāmaśambhu. Vimalaśiva and his disciple¹ Vāstuśiva were probably the spiritual teachers of Kokalla II and his son Gāngeyadeva. The name of the preceptor of Lakshmīkarna is lost. Puruṣaśiva was "the prosperity of Yaśahkarna" and Śaktiśiva was "the real power of the king Gayakarna". His disciple Kīrttiśiva was probably the preceptor of Narasiṃha while Vimalaśiva described in the *Jubblepur Kotical Ins. of Jayasimha* as 'the illustrious *rājapuru*' was "showing great vigilance in looking after all royal affairs". His disciple Dharmaśiva perhaps migrated to south where his disciple Viśveśvara śambhu, worshipped by the kings of Mālavā and Chola countries initiated the Kākāṭiya king Ganapati in Śaivism.

Śantaśiva and Nādaśiva were also the disciples of Vimalaśiva as mentioned in the *Reva CP of Trailokyavarmadeva*². Nādaśiva executed a deed of mortgage on behalf of Śantaśiva in which the village Allorā was pledged to Rānaka Dhārekha in Śaivism.

Thus would indicate that after the fall of the Kalachuri dynasty, these ascetics had fallen on evil days and, therefore, they migrated to different places.

Thus, the line of *rājagurus* started from Vāmaśambhu in the time of Yuvarājadeva II (c. 975 A.D.) continued for more than two hundred and fifty years and ultimately came to an end in c. 1225 A.D. when the dynasty was supplanted by the Chandella ruler Trailokyavarmadeva.

Γ *The Rājagurus of the Chola Kings* — It is supposed that there was a succession of the *rājagurus* throughout the Chola rule³ also. Iśānaśiva and Śarvaśiva are mentioned in inscriptions of Rājārāja I (985-1014) and Rajendra Chola (1012-1044). There is epigraphic evidence to show their considerable influence in the Chola court during Kulottunga I (1070-1120 A.D.) and Kulottunga III (1182-1216 A.D.).

¹ See Appendix A.

² It is noteworthy that Śantaśambhu is mentioned as the incarnation of Durvāsā, *El*, XXV, p. 1 ff.

³ *Cholas*, II, p. 484.

The line of Īśāna-śiva-guru is mentioned in the *Karma-kriyā-kāṇḍa*¹ and the *Paddhati* composed by Somaśambhu. Īśāna (śiva) was succeeded by Vimala-śiva whose disciple Śarva-śiva is mentioned in inscriptions. It is stated that Rajendra I was supplying a large quantity of grains as *āchāryabhoga* to Śarva-śiva and his disciples in the Āryadeśa, Madhyadeśa and Gauḍadeśa. His disciple Somaśambhu composed several Śaiva works.

Siddhānta-sārāvali of Trilochanaśivāchārya records a tradition that Rajendra Chola saw the best of the śaivas in Northern India when he came to take a bath in the Gangā and carried them to settle in his own country in Kānchi and elsewhere in the Chola land². Viśveśvara-śiva of the *Malkapuram Ins. of the king Rudradeva* was an inhabitant of Gauḍadeśa and belonged to the Golakī Maṭha of Dāhala region who established a monastery at Mysore³. South Indian inscriptions mention some ascetics of the line of *Bhikshā-maṭha* and *Kollamaṭha*⁴ at Vārāṇasī. This would indicate that the ascetics of Śaiva-siddhānta school migrated from north to south during this period.

G. *Ascetics in Vārāṇasī*:—The *Gurgi Ins. of Prabodhaśiva* records that the ascetic Prabodhaśiva built an abode at Vārāṇasī⁵. Disciple of

¹ श्रीशाननामा शिवतुल्यधामा तस्याथ शिष्यो विमलेशनामा ।

तस्यापि शिष्योस्ति शिव (शर्व) दिशवात्मा शिष्यो भवद्यस्य च सोमशम्भुः ॥४॥

In the manuscript of *Karmmakriyākāṇḍa* (Cat. of Palm Leaf & Sel. Paper Man. in Nepal: H. P. Sastri, p. 45) *Śrīśāna* is mentioned as *Śrigona*. This *Somaśambhu* is different from Somaśambhu of the *Malkapuram Ins. of Rudradeva*. *Saivabhūṣaṇa Grantha* mentions one Somaśambhu who wrote a *paddhati*.

उग्रोत्तरज्योतिरथो स सद्यश्श्रीरामकण्ठोपि च वैद्यकण्ठः ।

नारायणश्चापि विभूतिकण्ठः श्रीनीलकण्ठावपि सोमशम्भुः ॥

² राजेन्द्रचोळ इत्याख्यः चोळभूपो महीं वसन् ।

गंगास्तनार्थमागत्य दृष्ट्वा शैवान्वरान्तदा ॥

स्तात्वा प्रतिनिवृत्तस्सन् तान् समादाय शैवकान् ।

स्वराज्ये स्थापयामास शैवाचार्यवरांस्तदा ।

कांचीमध्ये चोळभूमौ सर्वत्रैव प्रविस्तराः ॥

ASI. AR, 1911-12, p. 176.

³ JAHRS, IV, p.

⁴ Cholas, pt. II, p. 485.

⁵ MASI, XXIII, 122 ff, V. 14.

Kumāraśiva the guru of Mūlarāja Solanki belonging to this faith had composed a Pratiśṭhā work in 1090 A.D.¹ at Banaras. (The manuscript of the work is reported to be in *ASB*). A Chola inscription mentions Jñānaśiva of the *Lakṣhādyāya-santāna* of the *Kollā-maṭha* at Vārāṇasī².

2. LITERARY ACTIVITIES OF THESE ASCETICS

Inscriptions describe the literary activities of these ascetics. Vyomaśiva of the Ranod monastery seems to be a reputed scholar of outstanding importance. Inscription from Ranod mentions the composition of a work known after him³.

*The Gwalior Ins.*⁴ further gives us information that he, by his commentary, expounded the true nature of the real *padārtha* (a category of the Vaiśeṣhika system) and also the unreal gross ignorance even as the Sun by his light reveals existing objects and dispels pitchy darkness. This commentary on the Vaiśeṣhika work is no other than the *Vyomavati-tīkā* of Vyomaśiva on the *Praśastapāda-bhāṣya*. The celebrated author Udayana mentions him with respect in his *Kiraṇāvalī*. He has also been quoted by Guṇaratna, Rājaśekhara and Varddhamaṇa⁵.

Īśānaśiva-guru-paddhati⁶ a voluminous work has been ascribed to Īśānaśiva, the *rājaguru* of Rājendra Chola. The *Prāyaschitta-samuchchaya*, the *Naimittika-kriyānusandhāna* and the *Pratiśṭhā-darpaṇa* were composed by Hṛidayaśiva of the Gorāṭhikā Maṭha at Dhārā⁷, Brahmaśambhu of the Karkaroṇi branch⁸ and Vairochana, the disciple⁹ of Īśāna-

¹ *ISG*, Pt. II, *Intro*.

² *Cholas*, pt. II, 485.

³ श्लाघ्यं जन्म जगत्त्रयेऽपि दधतः शेषस्य तस्य क्षमा
मस्य व्योमपदादिमन्त्ररचनाख्याताभिधानस्य च

V. 23. *EI*, I, P. 254 ff.

⁴ मुनिसूर्येण निरस्तं टीकालोकेन येन लोकस्य ।

प्रकटयतेह पदार्थं सन्तमसच्च सन्तमसम् ॥

The verse has been quoted by Prof. Mirāshi (*IHQ*, 1950, p. 16).

See also "*Vyomaśiva the Author of Vyomavati*" by Dasarath Sharma (*IHQ*, X, p. 165).

⁵ *Indian Logic and Atomism*, p. 32 aun.

⁶ *A Study on Vāstuvidyā*, preface, p. ii.

⁷ *ISG*, II, preface p. 1

⁸ *Ibid*, Part II, preface.

⁹ *Ibid*.

śiva respectively. *The Mallapuram*¹ Ins. of Rudradeva mentions the writing of the *Somaśambhu-paddhati* by Somaśambhu, the predecessor of Vāmaśambhu which is not available. The available *Somaśambhu-paddhati*² was composed in 1153 V.S.=1095 A.D. by another Somaśambhu who flourished in the line of Īśānaśiva.

3. PHILOSOPHY

We have already seen that the Vaiśeshikas were Śaivas while the Naiyāyikas belonged to the Pāśupata school. Literature discloses the existence of the *Siddhānta-Vaiśeshika* branch of the Vaiśeshika school.

A. *Siddhānta-Vaiśeshikas* :—*Apta-parīkshā* (9th Century A.D.) and *Yāśastilaka*³ (c. 966 A.D.) mention two sections of *Vaiśeshikas* :—

- (a) The *Siddhānta-Vaiśeshikas* and
- (b) The *tārīka-Vaiśeshikas*.

The difference between these two sections of Vaiśeshika philosophers are mainly four :—

- (i) *Siddhānta-Vaiśeshikas* were theist. They believe in the existence of Maheśvara-Siva and also in the categories recognised in the Vaiśeshika system while *Tārīka-Vaiśeshikas* were atheist⁴.
- (ii) According to *Siddhāntikas* salvation can be obtained by faith in Śiva characterised by initiation into Śaiva cult. while

¹ नाम्ना निजेन सकलागमसिन्धुसेतुं यः पद्धतिं करुणया प्रतिमां ब्रूवन् ।

LL. 65-66.

JAHRS, IV, p. 157.

² श्रीविक्रमाख्यनृपकालसमुद्भवेषु

पञ्चाशता त्रिसहितेषु शरच्छतेषु ।

एकादशस्वमलशास्त्रमिदं समाप्तं

गूढस्य देशिकमतस्य सहस्रयुगम् ॥७॥

Somaśambhu-paddhati, p. 1.

³ Vol. II, p. 269. *Yāśastilaka and Indian Culture*, p. 184.

⁴ यथैव हि महेश्वरस्य स्वरूपतः सत्त्वं वृद्धवैशेषिकैरिष्यते तथा पृथिव्यादिद्रव्याणां रूपादिगुणानामुत्क्षेपणादिकर्मणां सामान्यविशेषसमवायानां च प्रागभावादीनामपीष्यत एव

Apta-parīkshā v.v. 59-67.

Yāśastilaka and Indian Culture, p. 218.

tārīkas maintain that it results from the knowledge of categories ¹

- (iii) *Tārīkas* hold that the salvation consists in the complete cessation of ignorance pain due to the extirpation of attributes of soul while *Siddhāntikas* maintain that it brings blissful consciousness besides the annihilation of ignorance pain ²
- (iv) Vyomaśiva regards verbal testimony (*śabda*) also as a valid source of knowledge in addition to inference and perception but the orthodox section does not recognise *śabda* as independent source of knowledge³

On the basis of inscriptions it may be demonstrated that these *Siddhānta Vaiśeṣikas* were the followers of *Śaiva siddhānta* school and that these differences from the orthodox section arose from the acceptance of devotional doctrine as laid down in the *āgamas* by the *Śaiva siddhānta* school

B *Inscriptions and Siddhanta Vaiśeṣikas* —These characteristic principles of *Siddhānta Vaiśeṣikas* are obtained in inscriptions set up by *Śaiva siddhānta* scholars

(i) These inscriptions invariably begin with an invocation to Śiva and other deities of Śaiva pantheon They reveal a full fledged Śaiva mythology and pantheon

¹ सप्तलनिष्कलाप्तप्राप्तमन्त्रतन्त्रापेक्षदीक्षारक्षणच्छूद्राभायानुसरणा मोक्ष इति सैद्धान्त-
वैशेषिका । *Yāśastilaka*, Vol II, p 269

² दग्धेन्धनानलवदुपशमो मोक्ष । *Prasastapada*, p 144 But in the *Āpta pariksha* (under verse 11, see also *Yāśastilaka and Indian Culture*, p 218) ज्ञानशक्तिस्तु नि कर्मणोपि कस्यचिन्न विरुध्यते चेतनात्मवादिभि कैश्चिद्वै-
शेषिकसिद्धान्तमभ्युपगच्छद्भिर्मुक्तात्मन्यपि चेतनाया प्रतिज्ञानात् ।

That this was also the view of Śaivas is known from Bhaskara who in his *Bhāṣya*, 2 2 37 notes पाशुपत-वैशेषिक-नैयायिक-कापालिकानाम-
विशिष्टा मुक्त्यवस्थाया पापाणकल्पा आत्मानो भवन्तीति । साध्यशैवयोश्च
विशिष्टा आत्मानश्चेतन्यस्वभावास्तिष्ठन्तीति ।

³ Manibhadra in his commentry on *Shad darśana samuchchaya* mentions this view of Vyomaśiva —

यद्यपि ओलूक्यशासने व्योमशिवाचार्योक्तानि त्रीणि प्रमाणानि तथा श्रीधरमतपेक्षया
अत्र उभे एव निगदिते ।

(p 63) Keith *Indian Logic and Atomism*, p 56 n.

(ii) The *Bilhari inscription*¹ states that even “sacred knowledge and due discrimination “are dependent on the devotion to Śiva”. Austerities destroy the darkness of ignorance and set a person on the path of *nirvāṇa*² which would be obtained by *bhakti-yoga*.³

(iii) Salvation is the greatest of pleasures and comes as a “downpour of nectar” in the form of bliss which could only be experienced.³

(iv) The *āgamas* are regarded as the most authoritative work. Worship is done in accordance with the *āgamas*. This high position assigned to these revealed scriptures necessitated the recognition of *śabda* as an independent source of valid knowledge.⁴

Thus, the Śaiva Siddhānta school was affiliated to the *Saiddhāntika* section of Vaiśeṣhika philosophy. On the basis of literary evidence it seems that this school came into existence sometime before ninth century A.D. Vyomaśiva who differed from the earlier *āchāryas* in some of the principles noted above, flourished in the beginning of tenth century A.D. By the time of Somadeva Sūri (c. 966 A.D.) differences in two schools of the Vaiśeṣhikas were clearly crystallized and in the fourteenth century A.D. Jain writers made an unqualified statement that the Vaiśeṣhika school was devoted to Śiva worship. This would indicate the influence gradually exerted by the Śaiva school on the Vaiśeṣhika philosophy.

Inscriptions of these ascetics do not mention the fundamental philosophical concepts of the Siddhānta school. The *First Baijnath Praśasti*, however, contains metaphysical terms used in it. The inscription addresses Śiva as Paśupati⁵ who cuts the bonds (*pāśa*) of persons devoted to him.

¹ भवति नृपतिवंशे जन्म पृथ्वी च भोग्या श्रुतमुचितविचारश्चारुरूपप्रभावः ।

समरविजयसम्पत्तस्य यो निःप्रपञ्चं चरणयुगलमूलं संश्रितः शंकरस्त्य ॥

EI, I, p. 261, V. 75.

² शिष्यस्तस्य शिखाशिवः शिखिसमो विभ्रत्तपस्तेजसा ।

दीपत्वं विनिपातितान्धतमसो निर्व्वाणमार्गे स्थितिः ॥

Chandrehe Ins. of Prabodhaśiva, K.E. 724=973 A.D., MASI, XIII,
p. 117 ff.

³ किमिह बहुभिरुक्तैर्नाथ सर्वस्य हेतुर्भवतु भवति नित्यं भक्तियोगो ममैकः ।

सकलसुखविशेषाद्यत्र पीयूषवर्षः स्वयमनुभवगम्यो जायते त्वत्प्रसादात् ॥

E.I, I, p. 261.

⁴ See note ‘5’ above.

⁵ यद्यप्यहं पशुपते कुमतिद्र एव ॥१॥

पाशच्छेदन कर्तरि प्रणमतां मोहान्धकूपबुडल् ॥२॥ E. I, I p. 104 ff.

Paśu as *anu*¹ staying in the body is also mentioned. *Mala*² is said to have been destroyed by the sight of Śiva

4 YOGA

Yogic practices hold an important place in the āgamic works. Inscriptions also betray influence in the Śaiva siddhanta school

The *Gurgi Ins* records that Praśānta śiva had attained māṣṭry over postures of sitting (*gītāsana*). His mind was devotedly fixed to the meditation of Śiva inside his lotus like heart (and therefore) he possessed inner satisfaction³

Prabodhaśiva lived on green leaves (*śāla*), roots of water plants (*sālu*) and fruits such as *āmāla*, *prīyāla* as well as roots⁴. The *Gurgi Ins* informs us of his building an abode for the siddhas on the banks of the river Śona "having entered which *yogis* who had exterminated anxieties caused by the impediments through the performance of vows, who were free from passions, who had attained success in meditation and whose mind was clear, acquire the position (fit) for obtaining emancipation⁵

5 KRIYĀ

Excavation of water reservoirs, construction of temples, installation of images, founding of monasteries and other architectural activities constitute the third section of the āgamas known as 'kriyā'

¹ बहुदेहान्तरस्थाणु त्वमेव किल वध्यसे ॥८॥ *Ibid*

² मलादिहृदयाल्हादिदर्शनतो दिने दिने ॥८॥ *Ibid*

³ आमीनस्य जितासनस्य विजने हृत्पद्ममध्यस्थित-
स्थाणु-ध्यान निलीन-निश्चलमनः सवेदितान्तर्मुद ॥१५॥

MA SI, XXIII, p 128 ff

⁴ विचार्य निसिलागमान्विधिसमाधिबुद्धेश्वर
प्रियालफलमूलवामलशावशालूवमुक् ।

MA SI, XXIII, p 117 ff

⁵ सिद्धस्थानमचीकरत्... य शोणतीरोपरि ।

यस्मिन् योगजुष प्रविश्य नियमध्वस्तान्तरायाधय
शान्त सिद्धसमाधयो धु(ध्व)च्छ मतयो गच्छन्ति मुक्ते पदम ॥

MA SI, XXIII, p 117 ff

In *MA SI* Dr Banerjee has corrected the last line as *adhmatayo gacchhantimuktehpadam* but in *EI*, XXII, p 127 he reads it as *acchhhamataya* but *adhmatayo* suits the context better *adhman* is a technical term of Śaiva yoga

Kriyā was a popular feature of the Śaiva Siddhānta school. Inscriptions record the excavation of wells, *vāpīs*¹ and other water-reservoirs, founding of several *maṭhas*² and abodes of *siddhas*,³ the installation of Śaiva images⁴ and similar activities by the Śaiva ascetics of Dāhala region. *The Malkāpuram*⁵ Ins. describes the establishment of colleges, feeding-houses and hospitals by Viśveśvara-śiva of Golakī Maṭha.

6. CHARYĀ

Charyā consists of daily rituals, worship of images and *yantras*. celebration of festivals and similar activities.

A. *Daily Rituals* :—Fire-rituals with Śaiva *mantras* were daily performed. Prabodhaśiva is compared with Kumāra because he was as much versed “in pouring libations on high tongues of fire as Kumāra is in tending his bird-conveyance peacock.”⁶ Mind of Gangādhara was purified by the most sacred texts of the Śaiva doctrine in consequence of the oblations duly thrown in fire three times a day at the worship of the moon-crested god⁷ Śiva.

¹ अनुगीर्णमथो सिन्धुप्रख्यं तडागमचीखनत् ।

प्रचुरसलिलं कूपं चात्र प्रबोधशिवः शमी ॥१६॥ *MA SI*, XXIII, p. 117 ff.

He re-excavated another well also which was originally dug by his preceptor (V. 18, *Ibid*).

स खलु देवतायतनवान्वापीनिवेशः शुभः ।

सोद्यानः प्रथते स्वकीर्त्तिविभवः साक्षादिवानश्वरः ॥ *EI*, I, p. 354 ff.

² The wealth in the *maṭhas* is described in the Ranod Ins :—

स्फारैर्धान्यहिरण्यरत्ननिवहैर्निःशेषमन्तर्वह

स्त्वंगतुंगतुरंगमैर्ममदभरोद्घूतैश्च गर्ज्जदगजैः ।

स्वस्थानस्य विशीर्णविद्रुतमठस्थोद्दामलक्ष्मीभूतो

भूभागास्तपसा पुनर्नववचः संरेजिरे यस्य च ॥३०॥ *Ibid*.

³ *MA SI*, XXIII, p. 122. V. 13.

⁴ यः प्रत्यतिष्ठिपदुमामुमया च मिश्रमीशं पडाननमथ प्रथितोरुकीर्त्तिः ।

प्रासादसन्निहितदेवगृहेषु विद्वान् द्वारे तथा गणपतिं च सरस्वतीं च ॥१३॥

MA SI, XXIII, p. 122 ff.

शिवयुग्ममुमादेवीं नाट्येश्वरविनायकी ।

स मठं मन्दिरै रम्यैरयमेतान्यचीकरत् ॥ *EI*, I, 354 ff.

⁵ *JA HRS*, IV, p. 147 ff.

⁶ उदग्रशिखितर्पणप्रगुणितैकपाणिक्षमं

कुमार इव सर्वदा परिहृतांगनासंगमः । *MA SI*, XXIII, p. 117 ff.

⁷ सातत्यान्नित्यकृत्याहुतिभिरपचितौ चन्द्रमौलेस्त्रिकालं

न्यस्ताभिर्यस्य शैवागममहितमहामन्त्रपूतान्तरस्य । V. 13, *EI*, II, p.

B *Worship* —It was the most important activity under this category

(a) *Procedure* —Inscriptions do not yield detailed information regarding it. The *Bilhari Ins*¹ records that it was conducted in accordance with the āgamic precepts. It further indicates that in the beginning, deity was bathed and then it was worshipped by offerings of flowers which was followed by the presentation of white garments² garlands, sandal, elephants, horses etc. In the end hymns were recited and salutations were made.

(b) *Forms of Śiva* —Out of the sixteen³ forms recognised in the *Śaiva siddhānta* inscriptions mention Uma mahesvara, *Gangādhara*⁴ and *Nātyesvara* forms. Vyomaśiva had set up the images of Uma mahesvara, Umā, Nātyesvara and *Vinayaka*⁵. Prabhāvaśiva, likewise installed *Umā*, *Umā mahesvara*, *Shadānana*, *Sarasvatī* and *Ganeśa*⁶.

Nātyesvara seems to be a popular form. Śiva in this form has been invoked several times in inscriptions. It may, however, be stated that nowhere in inscriptions do we get any suggestion for the interpretation of five fold activities (*pañcha kṛtya*) of *Īśvara*.

C *Pantheon* —Inscriptions mention Ganapati,² Shadanana, Umā and Sarasvatī as important Śaiva deities.

¹ सम्पूज्य देवमीशानम्बिवै स्वैर्यथोचितं
यथागम यथाशास्त्रं स्तोत्रं विहितवानूप ॥७२॥ *EI*, I, 251 ff

² निमज्ज्य यो रत्ननिधौ श्रीमान्तोमेश्वर शनैः
अभ्यर्च्य काचनैः पद्मैरथान्यत्तु न्यवेदयत् ॥६१॥
सोमेश्वराभ्यर्चनम् ॥

दत्त्वा यः करिवाजिशुभवसनस्रक्चन्दनादीन्मुनः
ससाराश्रमशान्तयेति विनतस्तुष्टाव तुष्टप्रभु ॥६२॥ *ibid*

³ *ISG* pt IV, pp 409-416

⁴ *EI*, I, p 251, V 1, *MAI*, XXIII, p 117 ff, V 1

⁵ शिवयुग्ममुमादेवी नाट्येश्वरविनायकौ ॥४४॥ *EI*, I, pp 354 ff

⁶ यः प्रत्यतिष्ठिपदुमामुमया च मिथमीश पडाननमथप्रथितोरकीर्ति ।

प्रामादसन्निहितदेवगृहेषु विद्वान् द्वारे तथा गणपतिं च सरस्वतीं च ॥१२॥

MAI, XXIII, p 122 ff

APPENDIX

THE RĀJAGURUS OF KALACHURI KINGS

Like the succession of spiritual royal preceptors of the Cholas, there was an unbroken line of *rājagurus* of the Kalachuri kings running for more than two hundred and fifty years. *The Malkāpuram Ins. of Kākātīya king Rudradeva S. 1183, the Rewa CP. of Trailokyamalladeva, the Jubblepur Ins. of Vimalaśiva, the Jubblepur (Kotawali) Ins. of Jayasiṃha* and a few others furnish interesting details with regard to this line.

The Malkāpuram Ins. states that the Kalachuri king Yuvarājadeva of Dāhala region made a munificent grant of three lakhs of villages to Sadbhāva-śambhu who founded a monastery known as Golakī *maṭha*. Dr. R. C. Majumdar,¹ Dr. D. C. Ganguli² and Dr. B. A. Saletore³ identify this Yuvarājadeva with Yuvarājadeva-Keyūrarvarsha I, the son of *Mugdha-tuṅga* while Dr. D. C. Sircar takes him as Yuvarājadeva II, the younger son of Lakshmanarāja.⁴ The view of Dr. Sircar seems to be erroneous. *The Jubblepur Ins. of Vimalaśiva* gives the succession of *rājagurus*. According to it, Puruṣaśiva was the spiritual preceptor of Yaśaḥkarna.⁵ The mutilated portion gives the names of the preceding generations of ascetics who filled the important role of the *rājaguru* but those of their royal disciples have been lost. The combined evidence of the Malkāpuram and the Jubblepur inscriptions proves that Sadbhāva-śambhu flourished six generations before Puruṣaśiva and, therefore, he must have been contemporary of Yuvarājadeva I who was the predecessor of Yaśaḥkarna by six generations. As there is the corresponding succession of the *rājagurus* and their royal disciples the identification seems well-nigh certain.

Sadbhāvaśambhu on the other hand is same as Prabhāvaśiva of the Gurgi and Chandrehe inscriptions, because

- (i) All facts recorded with regard to Sadbhāva-śambhu in the Malkāpuram Ins. are noted with relation to Prabhāvaśiva in the Gurgi and Chandrehe inscriptions. According to the Gurgi inscription it was Prabhāvaśiva who was made to accept

¹ History of Bengal, Vol. I, p. 684.

² *Age of the Imperial Kanauja*, p. 89.

³ *Ancient Karnāṭaka*, I. p. 392.

⁴ JUPHS, 1952, pp. 227 ff.

⁵ EI, XXV, p. 311 ff. V. 17.

the land grant by Yuvarāja¹ I while the Chandrehe inscription states that Yuvarājadeva I established a monastery at an enormous cost for Prabhavaśiva in the Dahala region²

- (ii) The use of synonyms of names is a noted characteristic of Indian epigraphy and has been observed in the case of other ascetics of this line also. Thus Chudaśiva of the Bilhari and the Gurgi inscriptions is written as Śikhaśiva in the inscription at Chandrehe. In the Malkāpuram inscription the change in name is due to the metrical exigency. The metre required a *tagana* in the place and hence *Prabhara* a *jagana* has been changed to *sadbhāva* a *tagana*.

After Sādbhāva śambhu came Somaśambhu³ who was succeeded by Vāmaśambhu. The inscription notes that 'the Kalachuri kings are still mentioned in inscriptions (*praśasti*) as meditating upon his feet' (*charanārādhaḥ*)⁴. Seven kings⁵ of this region are styled in inscriptions

- 1 तस्याखिलधितपतिप्रणतोत्तमागच्छामणिद्युतिचयाच्चितपादपीठ ।
शिष्यो बभूव भुवनत्रयकीर्तनीय श्रीमत्प्रभावशिवनाम मुनिर्मनीषी ॥६॥
आनीय य महजवासनया नयज्ञ श्रीमुग्धनुगतनयो युवराजदेव ।
सत्त्वोपकारभवदुत्तमरीतिहेतोर्ग्राह्यमठमनन्तधनप्रतिष्ठम् ॥७॥

- 2 ततो मधुमतीपते कृतमहातपस्मचय
प्रभावशिव इत्यमूत्सवल्शैवचूडामणि ।
अनेकनृपवदित स युवराजदयेन
यस्तपोधनपति कृतचरणपूतगोलग्निर ॥५॥

- 3 The Malkāpuram Ins informs us that Somaśambhu had composed a *paddhati*. Aufrecht therefore identifies this Somaśambhu with his namesake whose *paddhati* has been found in manuscript form *Ep. Rep. of the S. Circle*, 1917, p. 126 but the identification is evidently wrong because the other Somaśambhu was the disciple of Śaśiva (should be corrected as Śarvaśiva) the *rājaguru* of the Chola kings. See ante p. 36.

- 4 अद्यापि कलचुरीशा यच्चरणाराधका प्रशस्यन्ते ।
the word *praśasyante* may mean "described in *praśasti* or inscriptions" and the word *Charanaradhakāḥ* has a clear reference to *Vamadeva pādamanudhyata*. According to Māhamahopādhyāya Prof. V. V. Mirashi Vamadeva was a predecessor of the Kalachuri kings (*EI*, XXVI) but contra Dr. D. C. Sircar (*JUPHS*, 1952, p. 227). The evidence in favour of Dr. Sircar's view is rather strong.

- 5 See ante p. 36.

as *Vāmadevapādānudhyāta*. Jonarāja in his commentary on the *Prithvī-rāja-Vijaya*¹ furnishes the interesting information that the Kalachuri king Sāhasika dedicated his whole kingdom to his preceptor the ascetic Vāmadeva and started to conquer the whole earth. The king Sāhasika, however, does not figure in the Kalachuri genealogy. Dr. D. C. Sircar² identifies him with Gāṅgeyadeva because he assumed the title of Vikramāditya and the celebrated Vikramāditya was known as Sāhasāṅka=Sāhasika. Secondly, Vāmadeva is third from Sadbhāvaśambhu who, according to Sircar, was a contemporary of Yuvarājadeva II and therefore Gāṅgeyadeva, the grandson of Yuvarāja II should have been a contemporary of Vāmadeva.

But Vāmadeva flourished four generations before Puruṣaśiva the preceptor of the king Yaśaḥkarṇa and therefore he can in no way be contemporary of Yaśaḥkarṇa's grandfather Gāṅgeyadeva. The mutilated portion of the *Jubblepur Ins. of Vimalaśiva* mentions the name of Vāstuśiva, the preceptor's preceptor of Puruṣaśiva who was probably the *rāja-guru* of Gāṅgeyadeva. In the succession as known from inscriptions, Vāmaśiva was contemporary of Yuvarājadeva II and hence it was he who dedicated his kingdom to Vāmaśiva. The Kalachuri inscriptions also indicate the samething. *The Bilhari Ins.* repeatedly states that Yuvarājadeva II worshipped Śiva by his *vaibhava* i.e. kingship or wealth. It also quotes a *stotra* composed by Yuvarājadeva II in which he mentions the renunciation of all material prosperity and pleasure in favour of *bhakti-yoga*. The *stotra* seems to be a hymn of dedication. The inscription states that after worshipping³ Śiva by his wealth he composed the following hymn⁴ :—

“For those who are swayed by passion and whose minds are given up to sensual pleasure, this wealth becomes a cause of intoxication, Oh ! granter of boons.”

“Birth in a princely family, sovereignty over the earth, sacred knowledge, due discrimination, beautiful form, and victory in battle come to him who takes refuge with holy feet of Śaṅkara.

¹ See ante p. 36

² *JUPHS*, 1951-1952, p. 227-232.

³ सम्पूज्य देवमीशानम्बिभवैः स्वर्यथोचितैः ।

यथागमं यथाशास्त्रं स्तोत्रम्बिहितवान्नृपः ॥७२॥

⁴ VV. 73-75.

"What¹ is the use of making many words? Let there be, Oh lord! only one thing for me, and that is, firm devotion in you which is the source of all other things (enumerated above) and may the greatest of all pleasures—the shower of nectar which could only be experienced (and not expressed) through thy favour fall upon me"

This hymn very strongly suggests that Yuvarāja II dedicated his empire to lord Śiva, I would like, therefore to identify Śahasika with Yuvarajadeva II

The *Malkāpuram Inscription* leaves the names of four *rājagurus* who flourished after *Vāmaśambhu* and continues its narration from Śaktiśiva. The *Jubblepur Stone Ins* of *Vimalaśiva* fortunately supplies the missing link. *Vimalaśiva* and then *Vāstuśiva* flourished in succession. The name of the disciple of *Vāstuśiva* is lost in the *Jubblepur inscription*. It was probably *Rudraśiva*. The line of succession indicates that he must have been *rājaguru* during the period of *Lakṣmīkarna*. The *A S B CP*² of *Govindachandra* mentions *Rudraśiva* as the *rājaguru* of *Yaśaskarna* but the *Jubblepur inscription* explicitly notes that *Purushaśiva* was the spiritual preceptor of *Yaśaskarna*. It seems that *Rudraśiva* was the *rājaguru* during early period of *Yaśaskarna* and later on *Purushaśiva* succeeded him on the post. Thus, *Rudraśiva* might have been the *rājaguru* during the period of *Lakṣmīkarna* and probably it was the name lost in the mutilated portion of the *Jubblepur Inscription*. Ascetics in the next three lines are mentioned both in the *Malkāpuram* and the *Jubblepur inscriptions*. *Śaktiśiva* is mentioned in connection with *Gayaśkarna* while *Kīrtiśiva* is said to have contributed to the prosperity of *Narasimha*. The next ascetic *Vimalaśiva* is mentioned in the *Jubblepur (Kotacali) Ins* of *Jayasimhadēva* and the *Reva CP* of *Trailokyamalladeva*. He was the *rājaguru* during the rule of *Jayasimha*. The *Reva CP* of *Trailokyamalla* records *Sāntaśiva* the *Kali* incarnation of *Durvāsā* and his younger brother (co disciple) *Nadaśiva* as disciples of *Vimalaśiva*. The latter had executed a mortgage deed on behalf of the former in which he pledged a village. They are not, however, mentioned in the *Malkāpuram Ins* which records the ascetic *Dharmaśiva* as the disciple of *Vimalaśiva*. His disciple *Viśveśvaraśiva*

¹ विमिहं बहुभिर्बुधैर्ब्रवीत्यस्य हतुर्भवति भवतु नित्यं भविष्याया मयेव ।

सबलमुनविरोपाद्यत्रवीमूयवयं स्वयमनभवगम्या जायत त्वत्प्रसादात् ॥७०॥

The translation given above differs from Kielhorn's

² *JASB*, XXXI, pp 123 ff

established an extensive monastery at Malkāpuram in Mysore and initiated the king Gaṇapati in this faith.

Thus, there was a line of *rājagurus* running from Yuvarājadeva II to the end of the Kalachuri dynasty. It may be shown as follows :—

<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Ascetics</i>	<i>Kings</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
	Guhavasī		
1	Sadbhāva-śambhu	Prabhāva-śiva of Chandrehe and Gurgi Ins.	
1	Somaśambhu		
1	Vāmaśambhu	[Yuvarājadeva II]	
2	Vimalaśiva	[Kokalla II]	
2	Vāstuśiva	[Gāṅgeyadeva]	
2+3	[Rudra]śiva	[Lakshmīkarṇa and Yaśahkarṇa]	
2	Purusha-śiva	Yaśahkarṇa	
1+2	Śakti-śiva	Gayākarṇa	
1+2	Kīrttiśiva	Narasimha	
1+2+4+5	Vimalaśiva	Jayasimha	
	Sāntaśiva-Nādaśiva	Dharmaśiva	
	5	1	
		1	Viśveśvara

No. of Inscriptions :—

1. The Malkāpuram Ins. of the Kākatiya king Rudradeva, *JAHRS*, IV, pp. 147 ff.
2. The Jubblepur Ins. of Vimalaśiva, *EI*, XXV, p. 309ff.
3. The *ASB*. CP. of Govindachandra, *JASB*, XXXI, pp. 123ff.
4. The Jubblepur (Kotawali Ins.) of Jayasimha, *EI*, XXI, p. 95.
5. The Rewa CP. of Trailokyamalla, *EI*, XXV, p. 1ff.

VIII. MISRA SCHOOL : THE CULT OF THE PENTAD

The tendency of *rapprochement* in orthodox religious sphere resulted in *pañchadevopāsanā* i.e. the worship of five deities as advocated by the Smārtas. The movement was started much before our period, but it could take a definite form only towards its conclusion in 11th century A.D.

The Smārta cult of the Pentad was initiated by the āgamicas—Śaivas as well as Vaiṣṇavas. The Śaiva Pentad had different varieties and they came into vogue by 11th-12th century A.D.

Misra Śaiva School : The Smārta Cult of the Pentad : Its Evolution :

The worship of Śiva with Sun, Śakti (mother-goddess), Gaṇeśa and Viṣṇu was performed in the Mīśra Pāśupata School.¹ This is same as śmārta Pañchadevopāsanā.

The later *smārta* treatises prescribe the daily worship of these Five Deities for a householder.² It is sometimes stated that the cult in this form was popularised by the *advaita* teacher Śāṅkara but it is extremely doubtful.³

The first stage in the development of the pentad cult was the evolution of trinity composed by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva.

A. *The Trinity (Trideva) :—*

(a) *Association of Śiva and Viṣṇu :—*In the beginning we find the association of two great gods—Śiva and Viṣṇu who came to be worshipped together. A late inscription from Kāmarūpa, describing the king as a devout worshipper of both Śiva and Viṣṇu seems to have preserved an echo of earlier times.³ A wish has been expressed in a Chamba inscription that the dedicator of a fountain-slab (*dvāribandha*) may attain the regions of both Śiva and Viṣṇu.⁴ *The Bhandaka Cp. of Krishṇarāja S. 674=772 A.D.* is the earliest in the series to invoke Śiva and Viṣṇu in a single verse by way of benediction.⁵ *The Nagpur Ins. of V. S 1161=1104 A.D.* addresses

¹ रवि शम्भुं तथा शक्ति विघ्नेशं च जनादेनम् ।

यजन्ति समभावेन, मिथ्यपाशुपतं हि तत् ॥

² आदित्यमम्बिका विष्णुं गणनाथं महेश्वरम् ।

पंचयज्ञपरो नित्यं गृहस्थः पञ्च पूजयेत् ॥

Smṛti-muktāphala, p. 384.

³ *History of Dharma-śāstra* II, II, p. 717.

⁴ *EI*, II, p. 353, L. 48.

शिवलोकार्थं विष्णुपरलोकआरधाने—

Antiquities of Chamba, p. 223.

⁵ *EI*. XIV, p. 121.

Śiva and Viṣṇu together in an interesting way. "Śiva and Viṣṇu form a peculiar combination", the inscription, says, "as they are passionless and passionate, clad in tigerskin and costly garments, garlanded with the strings of human skulls and flower-wreaths, decked with serpents and pearl-strings and smeared with ashes and anointed with perfumes."¹ *The Madhainagar Cp. of Lakṣhmaṇasena* prays "Śiva who sustained Hari in his most peculiar body".²

Syncretic form composed by combining Śiva and Viṣṇu in one image called *Harihara* or *Kriṣṇa-Śaṁkara* also indicates the fusion. Several such images have been found.

A further development of this *Harihara* form is the *Pradyumneśvara* motif in which Śiva, Pārvatī, Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa are carved on both the sides of statue to combine (a) *Harihara* (b) *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa* and (c) *Umā-Maheśvara* forms. We know that such a syncretic image was installed in the sanctum of the *Pradyumneśvara* temple built by Vijayasena of Bengal.³

(b) *Viṣṇu and Brahmā* :—The Kachhapaghāṭa king Vīrasimha is styled as a devout worshipper of *Viṣṇu* and a great *Brahmaṇya*.⁴ This association is attested by a peculiar image representing *Brahmā* and *Viṣṇu* together having one body.⁵

(c) *Śiva and Brahmā* :—Similarly, titles like *parama-brahmaṇya*⁶ *parama-māheśvara* i.e. a devout worshipper of both Śiva and Brahmā, *parama-māheśvara-mahā-brahmaṇya*⁷ and *parama-māheśvareti-brahmaṇya*⁸ indicate worshippers of Śiva and Brahmā both. *The Rewa Ins. of Malaya-*

¹ वैराग्यं च सरागतां च नृशिरोमालां च माल्यानि च
व्याघ्रानेकपचर्मणी च वसनं चाहीश्च हारादि च ।
यद्भूतिं च विलेपनं च भजते भीमं च भव्यं च यद्
तद्दिश्याद्रूपमुमारमारमणयोर्भुक्तिं च भुक्तिं च वः ।
EL., 11, P. 183 ff.

² *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p.

³ "Pradyumneśvara Motif in Sena period" *JASB*, 1956, IB, III, p. 46 V. 2

⁴ *J.AOS.* VI, pp. 542-47; See also, *Pandukesvara CP. of Lalita Sundadeva* A. D. 853, *IA*, XXV, 178.

⁵ *History of Bengal*, I, P. 48, pl. I.

⁶ *Sungala CP. of Vidagdha* A. C. P. 166.

⁷ *Rewa CP. Ins. of the Mahārāṇaka Kīrtivarman*, *IA*, XVII, p. 225 ff.

⁸ *Nirmand CP. Ins. of Mahārāṇaka Maharaja Samudrasena* 6 II, III, p. 286 ff.

*simha*¹ reveals the existence of a sect which was devoted to worship of Śiva and Brahmā together. Some Chedi inscriptions² salute Brahmā in the beginning immediately followed by an invocation to Śiva while others invoke Śiva in the form of Brahmā as the creator of the universe and the reciter of the Vedas³. This will corroborate the conclusion stated above.

(d) *Brahmā Viṣṇu and Śiva* — *The Karitala Ins of Lakṣmanarāja* K S 593 opens with an invocation to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva⁴. *The Kulat Cp Ins of Somavarman* describes the King Śīlavahan as a devout worshipper of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā⁵. *The Māndhātā Cp of Devapāla Paramara* V S 1255 invokes the trinity as *Kaiśa* i.e. *Brahmā prajāpati*, Śiva and Viṣṇu combined⁶. *Kaiśa* (Ka=Brahmā, C=Viṣṇu and Śa=Śiva) has been described as “resembling the waterlily, the blackbee, and the Kāśa grass, having respectively for weapons menacing utterance (*humkāra*), a discus and the *pināka*, moving on a bird (swan), a bird (*garuda*) and bull and residing in a lotus, water and mountain”. Such combined images in the *Harīhara pītāmaha*, *Dattātreyā* and *Kāśa* forms are discovered in large numbers⁷.

¹ The verse transcribed by Sri R. D. Banerji is as

ब्रह्मणा × शानवादिना वेदतत्प्रावर्ययोगिना ।

निस्तीर्णानि पापण्डानि यत्र माणवकैरपि ॥ V 32

Firstly, adjectives in singular *bāhmanasānatādinā* etc, cannot qualify the noun *mānatāka* in plural and secondly there cannot be any gap between *Brahmanā Śana* because the eight letters of *anushtubh* are already complete. I would therefore, correct the verse as —

ब्रह्मणा (णे) शानवादिना वेदतत्प्रा(त्वा)वर्ययोगिना ।

निस्तीर्णानि पापण्डानि यत्र माणवकैर(केना)पि ॥

The phrase ‘*Brahmesānatādin*’ i.e. a follower of the sect devoted to *Brahmā* and *Īśāna* (*Śiva*)

² EI, II, pp 1-7

³ IA, XVIII, p 210

⁴ ओ नमोस्तु ब्रह्मिणोपेन्द्रस्त्रेभ्यः ।

⁵ AC p 184

⁶ कैश कञ्जालिकाशभा हुँकारारिपिनाकिन ।

विविगोगतयो दद्युः सवोम्बु (जाम्बु) नगीक्स ॥ V 3 IA, XX, 310

⁷ *Kaiśa* is identical with the *Harīharapītāmaha* form of the *Rupamandana* but is different from *Harīharapītāmaha* form described in EHI, I, I, pp 252-53

The temple with three sancta for the trinity—Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā having one *maṇḍapa* like one at Kesari in Gujrata¹ displays the close association of three gods. The inscriptions mention the construction of similar temples in other parts of the country.²

(e) Sūrya, Brahmā and Viṣṇu formed another triad. The copper plates of Viśvarūpasena who was a devout worshipper of Sūrya open with a salutation to Śrī-Nārāyaṇa followed by an invocation to Sūrya. It was authenticated by *Sadāśivamudrā*.³ The Gahaḍavāla inscriptions record the worship of this triad at the ceremony of gifts.⁴ A temple for the joint-worship of Śaṁkara, Viṣṇu and Bhāskara existed at Kargudri in Deccan.⁵

B. *The quadrumvarate* :—The inclusion of Sūrya in the trinity formed this quadrumvarate. Images combining Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Sūrya in one body have been found at Kiradu,⁶ Pavagarh,⁷ Khajuraho,⁸ Gujarat,⁹ Kālāñjara,¹⁰ and elsewhere.¹¹ But it may be noted that no temple in India dedicated to the worship of these four deities together have been found.

Ancient temples which are termed as *Pañchāyatana* really group the shrines for four gods—Śiva, Viṣṇu, Śakti and Sūrya. *The Rewa Ins. of Vappullaka* records the construction of a *Śiva-pañchāyatana* form of

¹ *Arch. of Guj*, p. 31.

² The *Salotgi Pillar Ins.* (c) discloses the existence of a temple for Trayipurnusha at the *agrahāra* of Pavithage. (SI., IV., p. 57)

³ IB. III, pp, 133-134.

⁴ सूर्यभट्टारकं संपूज्य भगवन्तं महेश्वरमभ्यर्च्य विश्वाधारं
वासुदेवं समाराध्य । EI., II, p. 359 ff.

⁵ IA, X, p. 25.

⁶ ASIWC., 1907-08, p. 41.

⁷ ASIWC., 1912 p. 48.

⁸ This has been termed as *Harihara-Hiranyagarbhu* in *Aparājita-Prichchhā* p., 546. *Īśāna-śiva-guru-paddhati*, III, 27-30 names it *Sadāśiva*. It is regarded as a form of Sūrya in *Mark. P. CIX*, V. 71. See also *JISOA*, XVI, p. 87. At Khajuraho several such images have been found e. g. on the Eastern wall of the Ś. E. Subsidiary Shrine in the Lakshmaṇa temple, and in Duladeo temple (see *Hindu Temples* II, pI. VI).

⁹ *Lamboji Mata temple at Delmal, Arch. Guj.* p. 163.

¹⁰ Near Nilankarantha temple at Kalanjara Fort.

¹¹ H. Krishna Sastri, "South Indian Gods and Goddesses" fig. 144.

temple in which four shrines were built for four gods on the sides¹ The record, however, is mutilated and gives the name of Vishnu alone who was installed in a subsidiary shrine as Lakshmi nārāyaṇa. The *Brahmeśvara temple Ins of Kolūtafi* likewise mentions the construction of four subsidiary shrines by the side of the main temple² It however does not describe the gods in subsidiary shrines

Panchāyatana temples of early medieval period have been found at Osia,³ Khajuraho,⁴ Bhuvaneśvara⁵ and Kashmir. The *Visnu-Panchāyatana* temples at Khajuraho and Osia have Śiva, Śakti, Sūrya and Vishnu in the four subsidiary shrines grouped around the main shrine. Kashmir temple belonged to another category

Thus this was another form of quadrumvarate formed by the substitution of Brahmā by Śakti.

C *Pañchadeva* —The *Kilaut Cp of Somatarmān* in the middle of the eleventh century A D invokes five deities—Brahmā, Ganapati, Vishnu, Śakti and Śiva⁶ But this pentad is not of the Smārta variety as Sūrya has been substituted here by Brahmā

¹ पचायतन शिवस्य L 18

पार्श्वे देवकुली-चतुष्टययुतस्तावुन्नमादेवता ।

ईशाने.....य लक्ष्मी समारासता ।

LI 14 and 15 *MAJI* XXIII, p 180 ff

The side temples of the different gods were situated on the four sides in a definite order—*Kramād* The concluding portion of the mutilated line is *Lakshmi Sambhārasanā* which would indicate that one of the four at least was Visnu

² एवामे सिद्धतीये चतुरमरकुली चारुशालासमेत
कोलावत्या तयैप क्षितिमुकुटनिभ वारित कीर्तिराज ॥

V 12 *JASB*, 1838, p, 577-62

³ *ASI AR*, 190

⁴ It is stated on the basis of personal study of the temples

⁵ *Antiquities of Orissa*, pp 58-89, *Orissa & Her Remains* N N Ganguli, pp 33-42

⁶ जयति भुवनवारण स्वयम्भूर्जयति पुरन्दरनन्दना मुरारि ।

जयति गिरिसुतानिरुद्धदेही दुरितापहरोहरश्च देव ॥ *AC*, p 184

"*Girisuta*" in second line may be construed (i) with *niruddhadeva* which would mean Śiva whose body has been appropriated by the daughter of the mountain or (ii) separately to mean that "the goddess Parvatī be victorious along with Śiva who has controlled his senses (lit body)" Any way the sense would be that Parvatī and Śiva be victorious either separately or in the composite form

The evidence for the Smārta group of the five deities comes from the *lingas* of 11th century A. D. representing the four sectarian deities—Vishṇu, Śakti, Gaṇeśa and Sūrya on four sides.¹ Similarly, the miniature shrines² representing these five sectarian deities in sancta and around furnish the testimony for the prevalence of this cult in early and late mediaeval period.

It may, therefore, be concluded that the cult of the five deities as envisaged by the Smārtas came into vogue by 11th century A.D. and that it indicates the rapprochement of the Vedic and Āgamic tendencies. The views that *pañca-devopāsanā* was introduced by Sāṃkarācārya does not seem to be right.

A. *Lākuliśa Pañchadeva* :—Besides this Smārta variety, there were several Āgamic forms of Śaiva Pañchadeva group. Four disciples of Lakuliśa i.e., Kuśika, Gārgya, Maitreya and Kāruka along with Patañjali formed one group.³ This variety was transported to Indonesia where it survived for a very long time although literature and epigraphy in India do not contain any reference to it. The *Cintrā Praśasti* records another form. Gaṇḍa Tripurāntaka, a Pāśupata of Lākuliśa school, constructed a temple of Śiva surrounded by five sanctuaries of Goraksha, Bhairava, Āñjaneya (Hanumān), Sarasvatī and Vināyaka (Gaṇeśa).⁴ The epigraph explicitly describes as *pañchāyatana* (temples for a group of Five Gods). Both these varieties are of the Lākuliśa Pāśupata school.

B. *Siddhānta Pañchadeva* :—The Śaiva Siddhānta ascetic Prabodhīśiva, on the other hand, set up five deities around the sanctum. They were Śiva, Śakti, Kārttikeya, Sarasvatī and Gaṇeśa.⁵ As the daily worship of these deities have been enjoined upon devotees in the *Īśāna-śiva-Gaṇa Paddhati*, it seems that this form of Pañchadeva was accepted in Siddhānta school.

¹ *Introducing India*, p. 20

² *Development of Hindu iconography*, (Second Edition) p. 545.

³ HBD., I, 406n.

⁴ गोरक्षकं भैरवमाञ्जनेयं सरस्वतीं सिद्धिविनायकञ्च ।

चकार पञ्चायतनान्तराले बालेन्दुमौलिस्थितिमानसो यः ॥ EI., I, f

⁵ यः प्रत्यतिष्ठिपदुमामुमया च मिश्रमीशं षडाननमथ प्रथितोरुकीर्तिः ।

प्रासादसन्निहितदेवगृहेषु विद्वान् द्वारे तथा गणपतिञ्च सरस्वतीञ्च ॥

References to Śaiva Pañchāyatana occur in the Brahmeśvara temple Inscription and the Koni Inscription of Kalachuri Prithvīdeva II K. E. 900¹ but subsidiary deities installed therein have not been specifically mentioned.

IX CONCLUSION

Inscriptions disclose three Śaiva movements. The earliest movement was started by Śrikanṭha who founded the Pāśupata schools centuries before Christian era. *Soma* a little later started at Prabhāsa two schools—(i) the school of logic known as *naya-soma* and (ii) the Śaiva devotional school called *Soma-siddhānta*. The association of schools of logic with Śaiva devotional sects is perceived still later. The Pāśupatas belonged to the Nyāya while the Śaiva were Vaiśeṣhikas.

Lakulīśa initiated the second movement which became in due course very influential. Inscriptions mention several important centres of this school during this period. Several branches sprung from them, Ananta section of the Pañchārthikas is specially noteworthy.

Guhāvāsī, just before this period originated a very powerful and vigorous movement which spread to the Punjab, Vārāṇasī, Dāhala province, Mālavā, Central India and Rajputānā. It sent its branches to Deccan, Tamil region and Andhra area.

A DIFFICULT PASSAGE IN PAÑCHATANTRA LAKSHMĪ-VIDAMBANAM

V. S. AGRAWALA

The following passage in the Pañchatantra requires reconsideration :

न च त्वयाप्तराज्योऽहमिति कृत्वा श्रीमदेनात्मा व्यंसयितव्यः । यत्कारणं चला हि
राज्ञां विभूतयः । कथम्—

- (1) वंशारोहणवद्राज्यलक्ष्मीरारोप्यक्षणनिपाता ।
- (2) पारत्तरसवत् प्रयत्नशतैरपि दुर्वार्या ।
- (3) स्वाराधिताप्यन्ते विप्रलम्भिनी ।
- (4) वानरपतिरिवानेकचित्तचपला ।
- (5) पद्मपत्रोदकराजिरिव दुःसंश्लेषणीया ।
- (6) पवनगतिरिव चटुला ।
- (7) अनार्यसंगतिरिवास्थिरा ।
- (8) आशीविपजातिरिव दुरूपकार्या ।
- (9) संध्याभ्ररेखेव मुहूर्तरागा ।
- (10) जलबुद्बुदपङ्क्तिरिव स्वभावभङ्गुरा ।
- (11) शरीरप्रकृतिरिव क्रियमाणकृतघ्ना ।
- (12) स्वप्नलब्धद्रविणराशिरिव क्षणदृष्टनष्टा ।¹

¹ References :

- (a) The Pañchatantra I-V, The text in its oldest form edited by Franklin Edgerton ; Poona Oriental Book Agency, 1930 ; p. 99.
- (b) The Pañchatantra Reconstructed by Franklin Edgerton Vol. I Text and Critical Apparatus ; American Oriental Series, 1924 pp. 367-68.
- (c) The Pañchatantra Reconstructed, by Franklin Edgerton Vol. I Introduction and Translation, American Oriental Series 1924 pp. 390-391.
- (d) The Pañchatantra—Tantrākhyāyikā, by Johannes Hertel, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 14, 1915.
- (e) Pūrṇabhadra's Pañchatantra (Pañchākhyānaka, dated 1199 A.D.) by Johannes Hertel ; Harvard Oriental Series, 1908, pp. 226-227.
- (f) Pañchatantra of Viṣṇuśarma with Explanatory English notes by Nārāyaṇa Bālakrishṇa Godobole, edited by Kashinath Pandurang Parab, Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1902 : p. 182, note pp. 298-99.

